

HOWNIKAN

PEOPLE OF THE FIRE



Vol. 10

Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe

No. 4

Election heats up

Several hundred tribal members have already mailed in their request for ballot to participate in the 1988 tribal election. All requests must be mailed by June 5 to receive an absentee ballot. Tribal members within traveling distance of the tribal complex are encouraged to attend the General Council on June 25 and vote in person between 7 a.m. and 2 p.m.

Three candidates have filed for the tribe's second highest elected position: Jim Young of Oklahoma City, Dick Whitten of Shawnee and Mike Combs of Bethany.

Combs, a familiar name in state politics, has stirred controversy within the Oklahoma Potawatomi community with his filing for tribal office.

Combs was convicted by a federal jury of extortion in 1983. A retrial was later granted and a Kansas judge, ruling without a jury, acquitted Combs in 1984. The trial and retrial gained prominent headlines in state newspapers, as did Combs' unsuccessful 1986 reelection bid.

In March, 1987 the state's largest daily newspaper ran an editorial under the heading "Same Old Political Game" when Combs' wife sought appointment as Bethany's tag agent from the Oklahoma Tax Commission.

The March 27th *Daily Oklahoman* editorial labeled Combs' tenure in the senate as representative of "everything that was sorry about the tax commission and tag agent system." The editorial went on to explain that while a senator Combs "had the (tax) commission appoint his sister . . . tag agent in Bethany. Then, Combs and his wife . . . set up a two-desk insurance agency in the tag agency building - which Combs had earlier sub-leased to his sister - after legislative passage of a law requiring auto liability insurance to obtain a tag." Combs' sister resigned the tag agent post after an audit charged a "misuse" or shortage of \$63,000 in public funds, according to the *Oklahoman*. The money was later accounted for.

Set aside budget approved for referendum

The 1988-89 "set aside" budget has been approved by the Business Committee for referendum vote in the June election.

Funds for the proposed budget are from the accumulated interest on monies permanently set-aside from the Indian Claims Commission settlement with the tribe. Interest accrual on the set-aside money falls under the definition of matters of claims and treaties and so must be approved by the tribal council (all those 18 and over) voting in the 1988 election.

The following is a copy of the budget to be submitted to the voters on the June ballot.

Maintenance:

Janitor Salary - \$10,400
Groundskeeper Salary - \$18,400
Two (2) Maintenance Salaries - \$20,000
Maintenance Supplies - \$19,800
Maintenance Sub-Total - \$68,600

Development:

"At Cost" Pharmacy
Stock - \$6,000
Fixtures - \$4,000
Operations - \$8,000
Pharmacy Sub-Total - \$18,000

Museum

Director's Salary - \$20,000
Microfilm Reader/Printer - \$6,000
Museum Graphics - \$3,600
Museum Sub-Total - \$29,600

Archives

Display Shelves - \$2,000
Divider & Desks - \$13,000
Supplies - \$1,000
Archivist - \$20,000
Microfilm Camera/Duplicator - \$9,000
Archives Sub-Total - \$45,000

Total Proposed Budget - \$168,700

Administrative guidelines approved by the BIA will be used in administering the 1988-89 set-aside budget.

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Request for Ballot Potawatomi Election 1988

In order to comply with the 1988 election ordinance, please fill out this form and return to: Potawatomi Election Committee, P.O. Box 310, Tecumseh, Oklahoma 74873.

Name: _____ Date of Birth: _____

Address: _____

City, State, Zip: _____

Under penalty of perjury, I declare this to be my legal signature and Potawatomi Tribal Roll Number:

Signature: _____ Roll #: _____



Letter from the chairman

**(Msen A Ken Eh
Na Ka Nit)**

Bourzho Necon

Thank you all for the great response to the request for veterans information mentioned in the last *HowNiKan*. The Potawatomi Military history section of the archives is off to a great start. We received information about Potawatomi who served as far back as the War Between the States! Please keep the information coming!

This issue of the paper has a fascinating chapter on the history of the first Potawatomi Business Committee - representing both Prairie and Citizen Bands - from Father Joe Murphy's soon to be printed book on the history of the Potawatomi in the West. The Indian agent on the Potawatomi Reservation (read BIA) was instrumental in fomenting the conflict and prolonging the problems in Kansas. Internal factions within the tribe opposed each others' plans, constructive or not, and members of one side "joined" the other under the guise of aiding the cause. The real reason was, of course, to sabotage them. This was all in 1861! You are right, Grandma. History does repeat itself!

The U.S. Government has consistently opposed American Indians' efforts to govern themselves in order to protect their position of power over tribal affairs. They force-marched us out of Indiana in the dead of winter to steal our trading posts, mills, river ferrys and other business interests on the land they had granted us by treaty. Then they forced us to

combine as one tribe on a Kansas reservation after years of separate history and experience. When that reservation proved valuable to the railroads and white settlers because of development by the Potawatomi, they partitioned it off by agitating a tribal split. When the tribe split and we came to the Oklahoma Indian Territory, they allowed another tribe to squat on our land, partitioned it off again, and opened it to land-run by the whites. The land later proved to be a source of immense wealth to the new white owners as a part of the great Seminole oil boom. We, of course, got ripped again. Is it still going on? You bet it is! Here is a personal story on how it is done to individual Indians these days.

As most of you know, I own an oil refinery. It is the only individually-owned, American Indian-owned refinery in the country. I make jet fuel for sale to the military.

In 1985 the United States Congress passed a bill that said minority owned businesses would get a contract preference in sales to the U.S. Department of Defense. American Indians were specifically named in that legislation as "preferred minorities." The Defense Department did not, however, adopt any rules to use for fuel purchases in 1985.

In 1986 the department adopted "interim rules" for "comment" - but not use - for fuel sales.

A year passed and in 1987 a new set of rules for "comment" by the public were adopted - but not used.

So, lo and behold, in March, 1988 a new "final" set of rules to use came out. The date of adoption of the new buying rules for the three minority owned refineries in the whole United States (one Indian, two Hispanic) was set for March 21, 1988. Then the new "invitations to bid" for 1989 government fuel contracts were issued a month early - effective March 15, 1988! The deadline for bidding in the last year of the congressional "program" was six days before the "new" rules to "help" minorities were to go into effect.

So what happened? The Defense Department now does not ever have to implement the minority purchasing rules for my business or the two other refineries.

General Bickford, the commanding officer of the Defense Fuel Supply Center wanted to help me out. Even Carol Pugh, chief attorney for the entire Defense Logistics Agency, wanted to help me. They went to the Pentagon to plead my case to the Federal Acquisitions Regulations Council, the guys who write the rules. The FAR Council wanted to help me. But, somewhere, secluded in the bowels of the Pentagon, is a person, nameless to this day, who simply said "NO." Nevermind what the Congress or the law says, just "NO."

So, Congressman Watkins, Congressman English and Senator Boren sent a letter to the Defense Department. No soap. The cost to the government of the new "rules," by the way, would be four cents per gallon to the three refineries. While North American Rockwell or Boeing or General Dynamics can overrun the costs on their contracts by billions of dollars, the little guys who have to compete with Exxon, Amoco, Gulf Oil, and the other giants, even with Congress behind them, get it in the neck for a lousy four cents per gallon!

So, like a fool, I went to the Washington office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who have a rule passed by Congress in 1910, over 77 years ago, called the "Buy Indian Act." I said I wanted to sell the BIA their diesel fuel and propane nationally - not at a higher price, but the same price they are paying now or even lower. Their answer: "We buy our fuels through the Defense Department."

What can I say. If you want to do anything other than sell blankets and jewelry by the side of the road, or beadwork at pow wows, just don't tell the government.

Megwetch,

John Barrett

Tribe receives Child Welfare program renewal

The Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe has received notification of funding approval for the tribal Title II, Indian Child Welfare Program for 1988. Preliminary notification indicates the grant will be for \$50,000.

Eleanora Noah is director of the tribal program, as well as serving as I.C.W.A. representative to the Iowa Tribe.

Potawatomi Weekend '88 in high gear

To vote in the 1988 Tribal Election you must either request a ballot before June 5 or vote in person at the tribal complex between the hours of 7 a.m. and 2 p.m. on June 25.

Requests for ballots do not need to be in any particular form but must include the tribal member's name, address, roll number, birthdate and legal signature. Requests should be mailed to: Potawatomi Election Committee, P.O. Box 310, Tecumseh, Oklahoma 74873 to arrive on or before June 5.

Participants in this year's election process will name a new tribal vice chairman and determine a budget for accrued interest on set-aside monies. All tribal members, 18 years of age and older, are eligible to vote in the annual election.

The Shawnee General Council meeting will reconvene after the polls close on the 25th. The Business meeting will run from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. A free meal will be offered at the pow wow grounds at 5 p.m.

The 15th annual Potawatomi Pow Wow begins the evening of June 24 and runs through June 26. All tribal members are urged to attend and bring their families and friends. RV space rental is available by contacting Bob Dunning or Mary Farrell at (405) 275-3121.

Tribal Museum report for March

Ninety-nine visitors signed the Potawatomi Museum guest book during the month of March.

Seventy-three Oklahomans "stopped by," as did five Kansans, four Iowans, four Louisianans, two Texans, Missourians, Arkansans and Arizonans. One representative apiece visited the museum from South Dakota, Florida, Montana, Michigan and Colorado.

HowNiKan

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Change of address or address corrections should be mailed to: Potawatomi Tribal Rolls, Rt. 5 Box 151, Shawnee, Oklahoma 74801.

**SUPPORT
THE
HowNiKAN**

Support urged for Haney amendment

Oklahoma tribal members are urged to write their state representatives asking their support for Senator Kelly Haney's amendment to Joint Resolution #48. Haney's amendment would require that flags of all 39 of Oklahoma's recognized tribes be flown on the state capital grounds.

Support is also urged for House Joint Resolution 1039, which directs the Oklahoma Department of Commerce and the state Tourism and Recreation Department to cooperate with Indian tribes and to promote both Indian lands and heritage.

**PROUD
POTAWATOMI
VOTE!**

Nevada retrocedes jurisdiction' over Ely Indian Colony

Boulder, CO: On February 26, 1988, the U.S. Department of the Interior announced its official acceptance of Nevada's offer to return, or retrocede, civil and criminal jurisdiction over Ely Indian Colony to the United States. The favorable decision means the Ely Colony Shoshone Tribe will now exercise exclusive jurisdiction over misdemeanor crimes committed by Indians on Ely Colony lands, as well as over all civil matters occurring thereon which affect the interests of the tribe or its members.

Nevada first assumed civil and criminal jurisdiction over Ely Indian Colony in 1955 pursuant to an act of Congress passed in 1953, commonly known as Public Law 280. In 1985 the State of Nevada, at the request of the tribe and pursuant to special legislation, asked the federal government to reassume civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Colony. However, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs, Ross O. Swimmer, rejected Nevada's retrocession offer on August 20, 1986. He stated that retrocession for Ely Colony would not be 'cost effective', considering the small territorial size of the

Colony (110 acres) and its small population (185 tribal members). The Assistant Secretary also stated that his rejection would not interfere with the tribe's right to self-determination.

After the initial rejection, the Ely Colony tribal government enlisted the assistance of the Native American Rights Fund to request the department to reconsider its unfavorable decision. On reconsideration, NARF attorney Robert Perego argued that tribal self-determination was, in fact, the

Swimmer vetoed the state's retrocession of jurisdiction, stating the tribe's sovereign status would not be 'cost effective'

core issue. Specifically, Mr. Perego argued that a refusal to accept the State's offer would constitute an unlawful rule or policy whereby the United States was prohibiting an Indian tribe from exercising its sovereign govern-

mental powers in the context of civil and criminal jurisdiction simply because the tribe is small in terms of territory or population.

After considering the Tribe's appeal, the Assistant Secretary reversed his original decision and accepted Nevada's offer of retrocession. In acceptance letters to Tribal Chairman Bennie Reilley and Nevada Governor Richard Bryan, Mr. Swimmer stated that "the philosophy of self-determination is an administrative policy

which I hold very dear and will encourage its realization for all Native Americans and their duly elected tribal governments . . . which have the right to petition the state to offer retrocession consistent with self-determination." The acceptance ended a three year struggle on the part of the Ely Colony tribal government to regain exclusive jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters in the tribe's continuing quest to achieve self-determination.

(The Native American Rights Fund (NARF) is a non-profit Indian legal organization representing Native American tribes and villages, groups and individuals throughout the United States.)

Meet Jim Young

- Married with 4 children
- Attended East Central University
- Vice President Petro. Mgmt. Systems
- Nat'l. Assoc. of Business Economists
- President SW Optimist Club
- Vice President Okla. Coaches Assn.
- Nominee Outstanding Young Man in America

"...my grandfather told me to always preserve and protect my Indian heritage because this is where this country's strength began..."

Jim Young

Old Traditions - Young Ideas

**IT'S YOUR TRIBE - IT'S YOUR RESPONSIBILITY...
VOTE JUNE 25!**



Jim Young, an active family man, shown here at play with his wife, Paula, and their four children, Matt, Jason, Adam and Sally.

Elect Vice Chairman Jim Young

**Honest Leadership
With Integrity**

- QUESTIONNAIRE -

Your Opinion is important to me. Please take a few minutes to answer this questionnaire and return to:

**Jim Young
2225 S.W. 70th
OKC, OK 73159**

1. Do you support a change from Blood Degree Rolls to Descendancy Roll?

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION

2. Do you support the tax exempt status for Indian sales from State Tax Laws?

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION

3. Do you support spending Tribal Per Capita Moneys for Land Purchases?

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION

4. Do you support spending money for Tribal Economic Development?

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION

5. Rank in your order of preference:

☐ Economic Development ☐ Descendancy Rolls
☐ Tribal Sovereignty ☐ Tribal Bingo

Name: _____ Phone: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

In your opinion...

John Barrett,

Sometime ago, I sent you a copy of an old land certificate. I've written and mailed out about twenty-five copies of those land certificates and I am getting responses. To my knowledge no one ever received an allotment. There should be many of them in existence some place. There is a possibility we will be able to get land. Could and would you make an inquiry in the *HowNiKan*, where those land certificates are and how many are in existence. They are good where ever there is Federal and Public land. Let's go after another reservation or land grant. I'd like Arizona land. I've written to:

Civil Liberties, Senator De Concini, Senator Nickles of Oklahoma. I intend to send (3) more copies of the land certificates and letters. I have some influential people behind me. I enclose Senator Nickles letter (copy) to you

Gladys B. Small

Dear Gladys:

Thank you for your letter in which you expressed your views concerning your desire to receive

an Indian homestead. You have raised some interesting points that deserve to be considered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I have forwarded a copy of your letter to that agency for comments. As soon as I have received an appropriate response, I will forward you a copy.

Again, thank you for alerting me to this problem.

Sincerely,

Don Nickles, U.S. Senator

(Editor's Note: The land certificates were issued so that eligible tribal members could qualify to homestead (work on and improve) "excess" federal lands. To our knowledge no one has been awarded a land grant through use of their certificate. Any tribal members have a different experience?)

Dear Mr. Barrett,

I am writing to you to make a request. I am a resident of Oregon and belong to an International pen pal club. I have had many requests from my pen pals to find them a Native American Indian pen pal. These pen pals have become

very good friends through correspondence and they are eager to learn all they can about the American Indians and their way of life. These women are from the United States and from foreign lands and want to know more about the different Indian tribes, their individual cultures, and their way of life both in work and family situations. They are willing to share their cultures and lifestyles with you.

Could you please contact some of the women within your tribal community and see if they are interested in joining my group of pen friends?

Thank you for your time and patience.

Respectfully yours,

Kathi Bishop
1081 NE 25th Avenue
Hillsboro, Oregon 97124

HowNiKan,

Received the latest issue and see where you will be having a big pow wow in June. I might try to make it. If I do, would it be acceptable if I brought my files to show? Maybe those putting on the gathering could furnish me with a table and a couple of chairs. As you know I never charge for anything I do, except maybe take a cigar.

I do not know how your pow

wow area is set up or what kind of arrangements are available. I would have to park somewhere close as my files are heavy, including about 16 large notebooks. It is growing all the time.

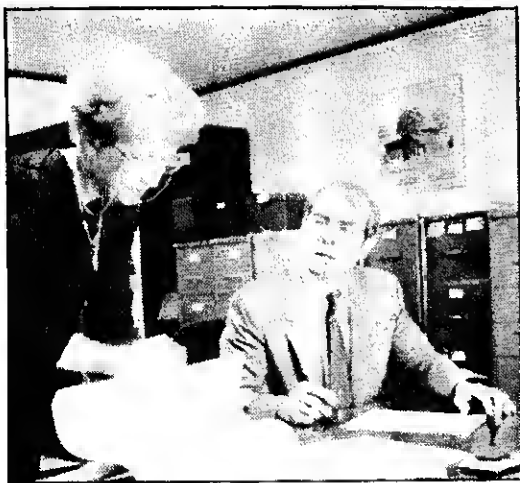
Please thank all the nice people who wrote to me (about their family genealogy). I never dreamed I'd get so many letters from all over the country. Of all the papers that have published stories about me, yours brought in the most response. I hope that I have helped some. Many had the same info I did and many were able to add to my files.

Sincerely,

Max Breslauer
1383 Greenbay Ave.
Calumet City, Ill. 60409

(Editor's Note: A table and chairs will be available for Mr. Breslauer to do genealogical work at the pow wow if he is able to attend.)

Support
The
HowNiKan



My name is **Dick Whitten** and I have filed for the office of tribal vice chairman because I feel:

- ✓ My education and experience will be an asset to the current administration
- ✓ My goals for tribal self-sufficiency are realistic and achievable
- ✓ My concerns for cultural preservation and tribal sovereignty reflect the views and concerns of our tribal population

VOTE

Dick Whitten

for
Vice Chairman

Native American Heritage celebration set for Shawnee

A Native American Heritage Week featuring Indian art, story telling by Indian elders, dancing and museum exhibits is being planned in Shawnee April 11-15.

A day of dancing, a style show of Indian costumes, Indian foods and arts and crafts at Woodland Park is scheduled to climax the week on April 15.

Indian story tellers will appear in the schools; Indian art will be exhibited throughout the town and special Native American events will occur simultaneously at Oklahoma Baptist University and St. Gregory's College.

The week's specific stated goals are "to raise the self esteem of the Indian population and to show our appreciation for them as a community;

"Educate our population - especially the children - on the importance and beauty of Native American culture; and provide the community with a visual and hands-on experience in the Native American heritage and culture."

The highlight event will be Friday, April 15 when special Native American activities will be staged from noon until 4 p.m. in Woodland Park.

Dancing will begin at 1 p.m. and continue at least until 4 p.m.

Shawnee Wolves Indian Dance Society, a 25-member group of Shawnee students from kindergarten through high school age, will dance, and will also sponsor a community-wide Indian dance.

People will be encouraged to display Indian arts and crafts and Indian foods such as authentic fry bread.

A show of art by local Indian student artists will be up, as well as some special Indian art pieces that will be exhibited at the Santa Fe Depot Museum that week.

A travelling art show of Indian paintings and sculpture entitled, "Making Medicine: Art of Fort Marion," will be sent to the Old Santa Fe Depot Museum, then dispersed to schools, the library, banks and businesses, Mrs. Atwood said, "so everybody will see some of it."

Solomon Kent, a 90-year old Iowa who lives here, is one of the tribal members who has been asked to tell Indian legends and stories in Shawnee area schools.

Mabee-Gerrer Museum at St. Gregory's will feature Indian art the entire week.

Madore Beaubien: A Potawatomi history of Chicago

(The following story is excerpted from an article by Jacqueline Peterson titled "Goodbye, Madore Beaubien: The Americanization of Early Chicago Society, appearing in Chicago History, Vol. IX, No. 2)

By the summer of 1833 the last resistance in the Indian movement was quelled, Black Hawk defeated, his people cut down on the mudflats of the Mississippi or at the hands of the enemy Sioux. In September, 1833, the United Band of Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa ceded 5,000,000 acres of remaining lands in Illinois and Wisconsin for a thinly disguised exile in the West. Now, settlers, land speculators, hopefuls and hangers-on of every stripe were beginning to swarm into northern Illinois.

At Chicago, the community of fur traders slumbered in the shadow of Fort Dearborn. Despite the momentous happenings of the previous two years and a widening trickle of Eastern migrants, Chicago appeared little changed from the unprepossessing village surveyed in 1830. The population had tripled, perhaps, growing from about 100 to 300 persons. But aside from the single commercial thoroughfare - muddy South Water Street with its hastily thrown-up storefronts and shanties - Chicago sprawled in seeming dis-order. The low-slung white-washed log and bark-covered cabins of its early residents followed the meanderings of the river's branches, rather than sitting smartly in neat platted rows.

According to Thompson's survey, which laid down the square imprint of a grid upon this curving and unfettered landscape, Mark Beaubien's tavern, the Sauganash, sat smack in the middle of a newly created road. But Mark Beaubien, like other early settlers, "didn't expect no town." Nor did they want one, at least not the sort of place that Easterners envisioned. In the early 1830s, Chicago was still remarkably free of the institutional trappings associated with American town life: it possessed no village square, no grassy mall, church steeple, sundial, schoolhouse, or jail. Roads hued to the contours of the land, rather than crossing at right angles, and titles to houses and fenced cornfields were, for the most part, unwritten.

Yet this was no random sprawl. Lifeways at Chicago were waterways. Households occupied the high dry ridges of the Chicago River's triumvirate arms, gardens and outbuildings straggling into the thin stands of scrub oak, poplar, and hemlock behind. Moreover, even for so small and dispersed a community, family and clan units had carved out territorial divisions. On the north side, the two branches of John Kinzie's descendants reigned. The Anglophile fur-trading branch from Detroit - the primary Kinzie line - controlled portions of what would later be known as the Magnificent Mile and the Gold Coast, although in the 1830s most of "Kinzie's Addition" was swamp and sand dune. The other branch - Kinzie's children by an early "country" wife, Margaret Mackenzie, and their Virginia relatives - settled further west, their farms, distilleries, and stockyards stretching up the north arm of the Chicago River.

On the south side, the log dwellings of the Beaubine brothers - fur trader Jean Baptiste and the younger Mark - and their burgeoning families, flanked Fort Dearborn. Both homesteads had been shrewdly located. In acquiring the former Dean house, a jerry-built five room structure at the foot of Madison Street where the Chicago River took its last sluggish turn into Lake Michigan, Jean Baptiste Beaubien positioned himself so as to intercept the *bateaux* brimming with trade goods when they first arrived from Mackinac Island via Lake Michigan. Similarly, Mark Beaubien's tavern, situated at the juncture of the river's branches and opposite Wolf Point, caught the eye of land and water traffic from three directions.

A few miles up the south branch, at the entrance to Mud Lake and the portage, a fluctuating population of traders and voyageurs and their

families clustered at Hardscrabble (now Bridgeport). The names usually associated with this location included Robinson, Chevalier, Bourassa, LaFramboise, and sometimes Ouilmette, although the latter's permanent home and trading station was to be found on a ridge above Lake Michigan at Grosse Pointe (now Wilmette) on the road to Waukegan and Milwaukee. Here, by the early 1830s, Antoine Ouilmette's children were also settling with their spouses, as had a few newcomers like Stephen J. Scott. The closest Indian settlements were located on the Des Plaines near Laughton's tavern (Riverside) and near Alexander Robinson's and Billy Caldwell's encampments in the environs of present Sauganash. However, when the intense July heat dried the wetlands about Chicago many Potawatomi families moved closer in to trade, bringing their belled ponies to feed untethered on the luxuriant grasses and pitching their cool summer lodges on the prairie just west of Wolf Point, where the arms of the river joined.

The dispersed nature of early Chicago often caused outsiders to denigrate its significance, if not to miss the settlement altogether. Yet this *was* a community, similar in design, human composition, and culture to dozens of other settlements established in the Great Lakes region prior to the 1830s.



Wolf Point 1833 as depicted by Justin Herriott c. 1902. The large building in the foreground is Mark Beaubien's Sauganash Tavern. Chicago Historical Society.

While there was no grid, old settlers at Chicago instinctively chose to congregate at the center, making Wolf Point a social and economic core. Here, fair weather trading stores proliferated, the Wolf and Green Tree taverns rose to accommodate Chicago's early travelers, and the town's first tannery and meeting house were erected.

The Point functioned as a kind of a free zone where clan rivalries, social classes, and master-servant relationships momentarily dissolved as diverse races and ethnicities commingled. The Anglo-American Kinzies, French-Canadian Beaubiens, the Potawatomi, and others all gathered here, swapping tales, bartering produce and peltry for trade goods, gambling, racing horses and carioles, and occasionally attending the exhortations of an itinerant minister. Whatever their private animosities and prejudices, a common dependence upon the Indian trade and a liberal use of the universal solvent - whiskey - brought these folk into community. If tensions flared, they were soothed by the lighthearted strains of Mark Beaubien's fiddle, for with the opening of the pretentious two-story, blue-shuttered Sauganash in 1826, frolicking and jigging became, next to drinking, Chicago's favorite preoccupations.

There was something else which set these insouciant folk apart from their American counterparts to the east in the early 1830s; a naive and ultimately devastating disregard for "progress." The members of Chicago's early fur trade community shared in common a belief system, or a way of looking at the world, which valued harmony and unanimity over competition; leisure over excess productivity; family and clan over economic interest and class; hospitality over exclusivity; generosity over saving; and today over tomorrow. It made no sense to attempt to bottle time or alter the natural bent of things. Life was a circle. Such ideas and values lent a suspiciously Indian cast to Chicago's old settlers, and for good reason. The vast majority of these folk were of mixed Indian and white ancestry, the product of two cultures. They had either married into or grew to maturity within households sharing at least two languages, two sets of kin, and a material culture which innovatively combined elements valued by both Indian and Euro-American societies.

Such a community was unprepared for the events set in motion by Thompson's coming in 1830. Although the more astute English-speaking Kinzies privately entered their claim to 102 north side acres in 1831, the platting of the town and downstate interest in building the Illinois and



Jean Baptiste Beaubien
(1787-1863)



Mark Beaubien
(1800-1881)

Continued, next page

Beaubien (from page 5)

Michigan Canal failed to inspire a public-spirited drive or entrepreneurial schemes. For a time, bidding for town lots appeared more as novelty than shrewd business investment, and the lots themselves as possessions to be swapped, given away, or to put up at horse races rather than hoarded. But then momentum from elsewhere began to build. In 1833, Robert Allen Kinzie returned from a buying trip back East with the astonishing news that New York speculator Arthur Bronson had paid \$20,000 for Kinzie family lands on the north side. By early August, coached through the unfamiliar legal procedures by experienced Yankee newcomers, 28 Chicagoans gathered at Mark Beaubien's tavern to incorporate their settlement as a town, and to elect a president and a board of trustees.

In bowing to downstate pressures and by organizing a town government with powers to heap regulations upon their lives, Chicago's old settlers unwittingly provided a formal mechanism for their own undoing. Within a few short years, the harmonious multi-racial trading community straddling the Chicago River's arms was metamorphosed into a straight-laced, institution-ridden, class-conscious urban metropolis which could have been anywhere. Momentarily, however, the original inhabitants held onto the reins, as the elections of 1833 and 1834 demonstrated.

Madore Benjamin Beaubien (1809-1883), elected to the first board of town trustees in 1833, and John Harris Kinzie (1803-1865), second town president from 1834 to 1835, were second-generation scions of Chicago's two most important early lineages. Their fathers, Jean Baptiste Beaubien and John Kinzie, had been fur trade associates and intimates. The sons, under normal circumstances, would have been expected to assume the mantle of their fathers' social and economic position. But Chicago was not a normal or stable place to be in the 1830s. Instead, the destinies of these young Chicago men abruptly separated, just as the new town split and spun away from the old. This was no coincidence. To a remarkable degree, the life histories of these two figures - Madore Beaubien, of French-Indian and Catholic heritage, and John Harris, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant - were to mirror the contradictions and strains underlying the growth and transformation of early Chicago into a modern city. But in order to understand how that remarkable change came about, we will have to go back to the beginning of Chicago's history.

The place called Chicago - a windswept glacial plain marked by patches of scrub oak and poplar, sandhills, and low-lying marshes - had been, from the 1690s forward, the habitation of a small, shifting population of fur traders and adventurers. Such antiquity should not mask the secondary, "backwater" characteristics of the spot, however. In the larger eighteenth and early nineteenth century world - a fur trade universe stretching from the counting houses of London, New York, and Montreal to the warehouses of Mackinac Island and Detroit, and to the vast fur fields beyond - Chicago was only one of dozens of subsidiary trading hamlets dotting the waterways of the Great Lakes and Mississippi River drainage systems.

Prior to the American Revolution, Chicago functioned as one of the northernmost trading outposts of French - and later Spanish - controlled Louisiana. Traders like Chicago's first settler, the well-heeled Santo Domingan mulatto, Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, who occupied a commodious French-style house with numerous out-buildings at the mouth of the Chicago River until 1800, were drawn northward from the Illinois country and Peoria to the vicinity of the Chicago portage. By the 1790s, however, the focus of influence had shifted toward British Canada and the newly-created United States. The Montreal peddlers of the British North West Company rarely penetrated as far south as Chicago; however, most independent traders who exploited Chicago as a "jack-knife" or subsidiary wintering post after 1800 were supplied by British merchants at Detroit and Montreal. While the French-Canadian employees, or engages, of such traders built trading huts along the river's branches, it was not until Fort Dearborn rose at the site in 1803 that men of higher rank and of Anglo-Saxon heritage migrated permanently to Chicago.

John Harris Kinzie's father, old John Kinzie, was not the founder of Chicago but he does own the distinction of being its first English-speaking resident. Kinzie Sr. was born in Quebec in 1763 of British parents, but after his father's early death, his mother married a Scots-Irishman, Thomas Forsyth, who kept a tavern and a farm in the Grosse Pointe district of Detroit. Thus, John was raised within the old French-Canadian fur trading community along the straits connecting Lakes Ontario and Huron, a community where British influence and intrigue persisted well beyond the American Revolution.

Aged forty in 1803, the year of Fort Dearborn's founding, John Kinzie had already acquired a considerable reputation as a trader among the Potawatomi on the St. Joseph River in southwestern Michigan, as well as in the Sandusky and Fort Wayne environs. Indians knew and respected him primarily for his silverworking abilities, but Detroit merchants recognized his keen business sense. In company with his half-brother, Thomas Forsyth, Kinzie and a coterie of frontier entrepreneurs nearly wrangled an illegal Indian cession of lands in Michigan and Indiana before General Anthony Wayne could complete the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

Sometime during his late teens or early twenties, Kinzie and a fellow

trader, Alexander Clark, set up housekeeping near Sandusky with two Giles County, Virginia, girls - Margaret and Elizabeth Mackenzie. These were no ordinary wives. During Lord Dunmore's War in the early 1770s, Margaret and Elizabeth had been captured by the Shawnee and raised among them. Years later, when given to or purchased by Kinzie and Clark, they served as able Indian interpreters and intermediaries for their novice trader husbands. By the end of the American Revolution, Kinzie and Margaret had three children: James, William, and Elizabeth. Clark named his only son by Elizabeth, John Kinzie, after his associate and friend.

Kinzie's marriage terminated abruptly when the elder Mackenzie arrived at Detroit to retrieve his stolen daughters. The reasons for Margaret's rejection of Kinzie are obscure, but the sisters packed up their children and fled to Virginia, where they promptly found new husbands in Jonas Clybourne and Benjamin Hall, Giles County men. This "southern" Kinzie line would eventually come back to haunt John Kinzie at Chicago, but in 1803, he had embarked upon a second marital adventure, marrying Elizabeth McKillip, the Detroit widow of a British officer. Their first child, a son named John Harris Kinzie, was born in July.

Significantly, in Elizabeth McKillip, Kinzie acquired another "white captive" familiar with Indian custom, language, and values and thus a useful helpmate to an ambitious Indian trader. While Kinzie and his wife would later be regarded as the first "white" family at Chicago, Kinzie had twice spurned traditionally reared and protected American or Englishwomen in favor of ladies with Indian affinities or attributes. This was not unusual. Prior to 1816, every successful trader operating in southwestern Michigan, Chicago, and Milwaukee had hued to the custom of the country within fur trade society. That is, they took to wife, often informally, a woman of Indian descent, thus forging an alliance with her male kin. Even



Madore Beaubien
1809-1883



John Harris Kinzie
1803-1865

Kinzie's half-brother Thomas Forsyth temporarily married a Chippewa woman early in his career. By 1803, John Kinzie had won the trust of his Indian clients, but marriage to Elizabeth McKillip was a fair compromise.

In partnership with his half-brothers, Thomas and Robert Forsyth, Kinzie now schemed to get the jump on less astute competitors. The harvest around Chicago of valuable winter peltries such as beaver and marten had notoriously yielded a poorer return than other trading sites. However, in Kinzie's view, the posting of soldiers at Fort Dearborn promised a tidy traffic in sundries and necessities. Hoping to combine this with a monopoly on the Potawatomi trade in northern Illinois, Kinzie and entourage traveled overland, skirting the sandhills which lined the lower bowl of Lake Michigan to the tiny hamlet of Chicago. John Harris was carried in a *Tipinagan* - a Chippewa child's house or cradleboard - on the back of an Indian servant who probably was also his wetnurse. Shouldering aside French-speaking Canadians and French-Indians like the interpreter Jean Lalime, Kinzie set himself up in Du Sable's establishment near the lakeshore on the north bank of the Chicago River. Soon constructing a trading house on the opposite bank, near the fort, Kinzie quickly emerged as the undisputed "big man" of Chicago.

First in partnership with the Forsyths and later as an independent agent for the Southwest Company, the volatile redbeard cast a long shadow. Prior to the outbreak of the War of 1812, nearly everyone at Chicago was either in Kinzie's debt or his employ. Yet he did contribute to the village's growth by importing employees like Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson from the St. Joseph region, and by persuading Milwaukee traders Mirandeau and LaFromboise to apprentice their part-Potawatomi children to him as household servants. Even the fort felt Kinzie's presence. Not only did he render laughable the U.S. Factory, established by the government to undersell independent traders like himself and thereby end their insidious influence among the Indians, but he wangled his way into becoming supplier to the fort - a very lucrative office indeed. Available cash at Chicago flowed in Kinzie's direction. When the garrison's pay failed to arrive on schedule the shrewd trader was able to advance the soldiers' wages, knowing full well that the specie would soon return to his till.

Kinzie's four children - John Harris, Ellen Marion, Maria Indiana, and Robert Allen - all born between 1803 and 1810, basked in their father's light.

Indisputably, they were members of Chicago's wealthiest and most powerful family. Moreover, they were white, a fact of no weighty moment in the first decade of the nineteenth century, but one which gained them social entrance to the officers' quarter at Fort Dearborn and the attention of American officials. The War of 1812, which called British sympathizers into question, caught the Kinzie family off guard, however. By 1813, in the wake of the Fort Dearborn Massacre, old John Kinzie languished in a Quebec jail, his finances in shambles, and his wife and children dependent upon relatives at Detroit. During the war years, the Kinzie estate fell into ruin. Only the Ouilmettes and Alexander Robinson remained at Chicago, earning a meager livelihood by cultivating the cornfields and gardens of the former garrison.

In 1816, with the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn, the repatriated John Kinzie and his family returned to a village seemingly untouched except for the macabre reminders of the massacre lying among the sandhills south of the fort. Yet, the final defeat of British efforts to hang on to the Great Lakes fur traffic set in motion devastating social repercussions. Increasingly, Chicago was to become a town of impoverished middlemen directed from the American Fur Company's big house on Mackinac Island, as its formerly independent trade employees were drawn into the ravenous maw of John Jacob Astor's fur trade monopoly.

Kinzie, who had worked for Astor's pre-1812 Southwest Company, never regained his former economic status or influence. When he proved unable to best John Crafts, an independent trader irritatingly lodged at Hardscrabble after 1816, Astor's managers at Mackinac Island transferred a young French-Canadian trader - Jean Baptiste Beaubien - then working at Milwaukee, to Chicago. In 1817, Chicago's second founder (and father of Madore Beaubien) moved into the old government warehouse beneath the pickets of Fort Dearborn.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien was born in 1787, a full generation after Kinzie, into the same Grosse Point district of Detroit. Yet unlike the newcomer Forsyths, Beaubien hailed from a prolific and highly respected French-Canadian creole family, whose roots at Detroit went back three generations. His aunt, Angélique Cuillerier Beaubien, was the heroine of Pontiac's Rebellion, revealing the Indian plot to the British at Detroit and thus thwarting an intended massacre. Clannish, devout pillars of the Catholic church, small farmers and orchard tenders, the Beaubiens were among the more distinguished families in post-American Revolutionary Detroit, years when American and British enterprise worked to reduce the string of tiny riverfront farms to a French-speaking ghetto.

Jean Baptiste was something of a prodigy. His entry into the fur trade coincided with the tightening of the upper ranks of the occupation against French Canadians, but it is doubtful that he was aware of this. Nor did his early career reflect the growing ethnic prejudice which made of the voyageur and engage ranks virtually a French-Canadian and French-Indian caste. Prior to 1800, while barely a teenager, he had served as an apprentice clerk to Joseph Bailly at St. Joseph and Grand rivers. By 1804, his trading sphere had enlarged to include Milwaukee, Chicago, and Mackinac. In that year he turned seventeen.

“In marrying Mahnobunqua, a Grand River Ottawa woman, Beaubien not only won the favor of her extended kin, but also a trading relationship and lifelong friendship with Shabbona.”

Baubien followed the usual diplomatic protocol in establishing a commercial relationship with a tribe or hunting band. In marrying Mahnobunqua, a Grand River Ottawa woman, Beaubien not only won the favor of her extended kin, but also a trading relationship and lifelong friendship with Shabbona, head of a band in the Chicago area. Their first child, Marie, was born at Chicago in 1805, followed two years later by Charles Henry. The third, Madore, was born at the mouth of Thorn Creek in Michigan during July of 1809, probably in a small birthing hut erected behind his father's trading house. The clan name bestowed upon this boychild by his mother's relatives has not survived; however, his father memorialized a brother or uncle by naming him Medard. Chicago residents later made a double entendre of the name, calling this gracefully featured half-Ottawa boy Madore, meaning “love me!”

Madore's first recollections of Chicago conjured up the charred remains of Fort Dearborn and the scattered bones of the massacre victims. He later claimed that this visit occurred when he was four, in 1813, but his recollection that old John Kinzie guided the Beaubien family through the ruins was surely mistaken. More likely the visit occurred in 1811. By 1813, Madore's mother, Mahnobunqua, had been dead for at least two years, and harnessed with three small children, two of which probably had not yet been weaned, Jean Baptiste sought an immediate replacement. He made a fortunate choice in Josette LaFramboise, a Kinzie houseservant and part-Potawatomi daughter of Milwaukee trader Francois LaFramboise. This happy partnership, which produced fourteen children and endured until Josette's death in 1854, solidified Beaubien's standing with the Potawatomi and Ottawa on both sides of Lake Michigan and linked him to a sizeable fur trading family whose members resided on Grand River and Mackinac Island in Michigan as well as at Milwaukee and later Chicago.

Although a French Canadian and Kinzie's junior, Beaubien's prior success as a trader and his influential kin connections won him appointment as the American fur Company's number one man at Chicago in 1817. But even though Beaubien's credibility was bolstered by the simultaneous migration of the LaFramboise clan from Milwaukee, he ultimately proved no more adept at curtailing the trade of the company's independent rival, John Crafts, than old John Kinzie. Finally, Astor, in a well-calculated move, bought out Crafts, turned the Chicago trade over to him, and demoted Beaubien to a secondary slot. The successful Easterner's ascendancy embarrassed both Beaubien and Kinzie. Upon Crafts's untimely death in 1825, Kinzie and Beaubien jointly represented the company on shares (Baubien holding the lesser one-third), but by this time the dwindling wildlife about Chicago was hardly worth the effort. Kinzie began to look to government appointment through the recommendations of his Indian agent son-in-law, Yankee Alexander Wolcott. Mercifully, perhaps, old John Kinzie died in 1828, the same year that Astor sold the American Fur Company's Illinois interests to Gurdon S. Hubbard, company trader on the Wabash. These events signaled the waning importance of the fur trade at Chicago - the chief activity that had brought the community into being, organized its social relations, and provided the only livelihood most old settlers knew well how to pursue or to pass on to their sons.

Old John Kinzie spend his final months in the household and care of Jean Baptiste Beaubien and his wife Josette. This was as close to equality as the two traders from Detroit ever came, and there is at least slight evidence that although of differing ethnic and religious background, these men respected one another. The physical proximity of the two families might have presented an opportunity for the development of similar ties between the leading males of the second generation, but in 1828 neither John Harris Kinzie nor Madore Beaubien resided in Chicago. Actually, the life courses of these scions were perpetually unsynchronized. Between 1816 and 1834, they spent only two years - 1816 and 1817 - in Chicago simultaneously. And in those years, Madore's childish prattle most likely annoyed rather than engaged John Harris, six years his senior.

“Between 1825 and 1828, Madore attended Hamilton College in upstate New York. His brother Charles was enrolled at Princeton.”

We may surmise, however, that a certain unspoken social relationship had grown up between the two young men. Madore's step-mother, Josette, had lived among the Kinzies as a servant and possibly as a nursemaid at a time when Kinzie wealth and prestige were at their zenith. John Harris's later attitude toward this part-Indian (or Metis) woman, whom he could have viewed alternatively as surrogate mother or Indian servant, probably determined his feelings about the part-Ottawa child Madore.

Kinzie and Beaubien both received the usual advantages available to sons of traders of middling rank; but in their earliest educational and occupational experiences one can see discrepancies subtly reflective of their separate cultural and racial identities. First schooling occurred informally, and at home. In Kinzie's case, a spelling book shipped in a tea chest was all that his tutor-cousin Bob Forsyth had to work with. Beaubien probably learned to read and cipher from a family member; his older brother Charles later ran a school for the children of J.B. and Josette Beaubien. Yet, unlike Kinzie, whose Indian education was gleaned primarily from the guarded and often dissembling lips of Metis servants, Beaubien was enveloped in a rich cultural and linguistic tradition openly transmitted to him by his maternal kin.

During the wartime exile of the Kinzie family, John Harris received several years of formal instruction at Detroit. His younger brother and sisters were likewise educated at Detroit or Middletown, Connecticut. When Madore's time came, however, his father rejected a French Catholic training at Detroit for the new Protestant missionary establishment at Niles, Michigan, run by Isaac McCoy. This school, ostensibly begun for the benefit of Potawatomi and Ottawa children, primarily attracted their Metis relatives. Madore was a bright pupil; he spent only two years, 1823-24, at the mission. Yet the experience was to fix his identity as an “Indian boy.”

Ironically, of the two young men, it was Madore who was to receive the college education and Eastern connections most likely to win attention in the rapidly urbanizing milieu at Chicago after 1833. Between 1825 and 1828 he attended Hamilton College in upstate New York. His brother Charles was enrolled at Princeton. The fact seems to have been lost on Madore, however, that it was as “Indian boys” in a philanthropic experiment that McCoy's promising students were shipped to Eastern schools. He arrived back in Chicago in 1829 with aspirations to be a merchant, not an Indian trader like his father.

John Harris Kinzie, meanwhile, was learning the mysteries of the Indian trade. The elder John Kinzie's reputation had been sufficient to secure his son an apprenticeship at the big house on Mackinac Island, the inner

Continued, next page

Beaubien (from page 7)

sanctum of the American Fur Company. Between 1818 and 1823, under the direction of Astor's stern, Presbyterian agent, Kinzie sorted, weighed, and priced skins. He also cut and carted wood, balanced accounts, made up trade assortments, mastered various Algonkian languages and the violin, and learned to manage Indian clients and Canadian employees. All this knowledge came too late, however, and Kinzie could see how the world was turning. Following his long apprenticeship, he spent only three years in the company's employ as clerk and then trader at Prairie du Chien.

In 1826, Kinzie hitched himself to the rising political fortunes of Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory and regional superintendent of Indian affairs. For the next three years, while part-Indian Madore affected Eastern airs, Anglo John Harris served as one of Cass's "Indian experts." He accompanied delegations to Washington, assisted at treaty negotiations, collected historical and cultural information for the superintendency, and compiled grammars and dictionaries. He gained particular familiarity with the Winnebago and in 1829, after Cass became secretary of war, Kinzie was appointed Indian subagent at Fort Winnebago. John Harris's commitment to Indian society was of a different order from that of his father, however. In 1830 he married Juliette Magill of Middleton, Connecticut, the niece of his brother-in-law, Alexander Wolcott. Three years later, and with some regret on the part of the romance-struck Juliette who had come to regard the Winnebago as her "children," Kinzie resigned his Wisconsin post and struck out for civilization and Chicago.

When John Harris Kinzie returned in 1833 to lay out lots in the Kinzie Addition in anticipation of a real estate boom, the city was already experiencing birth pangs. The several years following incorporation were frivolous, heady, almost frantic. In this unsteady state, the paths of John Harris and Madore finally converged as the two temporarily functioned as culture brokers, interpreters between the old residents and the human deluge pouring in from the East. They were links to the past, thin pegs around which a giddy society whirled. But they were also trying out new roles and wrote permutations on old ones. Beaubien - at one moment the respectable citizen - invested in town lots, built a store on South Water Street, and

“**Madore Beaubien was one of those people who, as the Indians said, was thrown away. By 1840 he had made a decision. In that year, he cast his fate with the United Band of Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa, settling at Council Bluffs and accepting employment as an interpreter.**”

acquired an American business partner from Pennsylvania, Valentine Boyer. In addition to sitting on the town's board of trustees for a year, he and his father and uncle organized Chicago's first Catholic church. And, in 1835, he married an Eastern seminary girl, his partner's impressionable eighteen-year-old sister, Mary Boyer.

Baubien also exploited his Indian savvy. In feathered headgear, whooping and hollering across the prairie after a pack of startled woves, Madore captured the imagination of greenhorn Yankees. He was no doubt responsible for dubbing the dances that Chicago's respectable young men sponsored, "Grand Wabanos," after an all-night Potawatomi fire-handling display. Whether in feathers or black cravat, Madore Beaubien was, by all accounts, the "handsomest man in Chicago." And a devilish charmer.

Kinzie lacked Madore's studied elegance and youthful panache. But his name, political connections, and seriousness won him respect. Elected town president upon his arrival in Chicago, he established a forwarding and commissioning business with his brother-in-law, David Hunter; organized an Episcopal church, for which he generously donated the property (as the Beaubiens had done for the Catholic church); and set to developing the Kinzie property on the north side. He had a lighter side, as well, and a shrewd understanding of the "at arms length" fashion in which Easterners like to experience their Indian culture. An accomplished native dancer and mimic, Kinzie billed himself the star in the all-white Indian show which he and a group of Chicago lobbyists for the Canal Bill took to the state capital in 1835.

In that same year, a wedding took place in Chicago which newcomers of 1833-35 delighted in recalling years later. It united Theres LaFromboise, Metis cousin by marriage to Madore (and daughter of Joseph LaFromboise) with Thomas Watkins, the popular postal clerk and early schoolteacher. Watkins began by running off a few invitations, but the demand was so great that he finally invited the whole town. The affair drew together the disparate elements of the community and found Easterners painted, dressed and dancing like Indians, and reserved Metis women in black stroud and beaded leggings jiggling with Irish laborers. It was the last gathering of its kind.

Thereafter, the fluid, frontier characteristics of Chicago began to dissipate as the population swelled into the thousands. By 1837, cleavages in the social fabric were apparent. "No trespassing" signs had been posted at Hardscrabble, and calling cards and private dances were beginning to

replace the community-wide, come-one-come-all revelries of earlier years. On the north side, increasingly a Yankee preserve, the pretentious brick Lake House, the premier first-class hotel in Chicago, rose in 1835, followed in 1837-38 by St. James Episcopal Cathedral. The Methodists, most of whom were unlettered Southerners, were "encouraged" to move their church building to the south side, alongside the Catholics. French-Indian families watched their Potawatomi relatives begin the sad trek to the western reservation and began to deliberate among themselves.

The speculative insanity which had kept Chicagoans and their hopes aloft for four years collapsed in 1837. The crash shook out the thousands of hapless investors and left a saddening chasm between rich and poor at Chicago. It also confirmed the growing separation between old settlers and new. John Harris Kinzie survived the panic, but much diminished. He was perhaps the natural choice for mayor in the year of Chicago's incorporation as a city, but the election of 1837 went to a financial heavyweight, New Yorker William B. Ogden, a recent arrival in town. Thereafter, Kinzie relied upon a series of patronage appointments from the Democracy such as Collector of Tolls (from the year of the Canal's completion to 1861) and Receiver of Public Monies (1849-1865). A mild and gentle man, whose name has been successfully bolstered by his wife's rosy portrait of the Kinzie family in her romantic history, *Wau-bun*, John Harris enjoyed a small local renown until his death in 1865. He helped to establish the Chicago Horticultural and the Chicago Historical societies and continued to entertain both visiting Indians and Eastern friends with his recollections. One gets the sense, however, that Chicago's new leaders trotted him out as their "old settler" and Indian expert more for amusement than enlightenment.

Madore Beaubien was one of those people who, as the Indians said, was thrown away. By 1838, he was financially embarrassed and deeply in debt to John K. Boyer, the father of his one-time business partner. Another Boyer, his wife, abandoned him shortly thereafter, vanishing from the historical record with their two babies, George and Susan. These events evidently pained Madore deeply. By 1840 he had made a decision. In that year, he cast his fate with the United Band of Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa, settling at Council Bluffs and accepting employment as an interpreter. Most of the mixed-blood families at Chicago eventually took this route. Subsequently, Madore removed with the Potawatomi to their reserve in Kansas and in 1854 he married his cousin, the handsome widow Hardin, nee Therese LaFromboise.

By the 1860's, after the Citizen Band Potawatomi had elected to take up lands and citizenship, Madore founded a townsite at an oxbow in the Kansas River west of Topeka, on the road to California. Numerous other old settlers from Chicago and Milwaukee, long forgotten in the towns of their birth, came to reside in the township surrounding this ford, euphemistically called "Silver Lake," and Madore was given the honor of election as the town's first mayor. Beaubien's letters and interviews given during a last visit to Chicago for an old settlers' meeting in 1882 hint at a guarded resentment against the city and civilization whose race prejudice discarded him, but he must have taken some small satisfaction in the knowledge that he had been a "big man" somewhere.

National Indian Business Marketing Project Announced

The National Indian Business Council, Inc. has announced its 1988 advertising program for marketing American Indian and Alaska Native businesses worldwide. The promotional campaign is the first ever such effort to be undertaken and has been heralded as a "breath of fresh air for Indian and Alaska Native businesses' economic development." Any American Indian or Alaska Native-owned business can now be marketed, free of charge, by the National Indian Business Council merely by availing themselves to the NIBC Indian and Alaska Native Data Base. The NIBC then markets the business worldwide through their computerized marketing program.

According to Delbert Militare, Executive Director of the National Indian Business Council:

"This advertising campaign is

for any Alaska Native or American Indian owned business, from the gas station or arts and crafts outlet in Navajoland to the computer systems company in Anchorage, Alaska. Our effort has worldwide outreach and is designed for everything from tourism to coal sales.

"Because we do not receive external financial support in the way of federal assistance or foundation grants we are able to do it 'our way' and we believe our way is best. The entire effort was designed and implemented by Indian businesspersons and we believe they know what is best."

Interested businesses should send their request to be listed to: National Indian Business Council, Inc.

3575 South Fox St., Suite #1263
Englewood, CO 80150-1263
Attn: Data Base Project



Pow Wow '88

A learning celebration for all ages



The fifteenth annual Potawatomi Pow Wow, June 24-26, promises to be the biggest and best inter-tribal gathering ever.

Pow wow manager and master of ceremonies Orval Kirk makes a special effort to explain the pow wow ring goings-on to newcomers. The pow wow is an ancient ceremonial common to all North American tribes. The drum serves as a kind of "telephone" to Mother Earth to carry her children's message on to the Great Spirit. Several drums from different tribes will play during the Potawatomi pow wow and observers will readily differentiate the differences in the music. Mr. Kirk will be identifying the different types of songs and dances for the audience present.

Newcomers to the pow wow scene will be stunned by the beauty of the costumes and the graceful agility of the competition dancers. Pow wow costumes takes years to make and are decorated with personal, tribal and clan symbols of the dancer.

Potawatomi pow wows are educational and great fun; an event for the whole family to enjoy. Small children love the music and bright colors and have to fight hard to keep still - which nobody wants them to do anyway! Potawatomi pow wows are also safe. The tribe provides security and police surveillance and any type of drinking or drugs is strictly prohibited.

FOR THE RECORD

Business Committee Minutes - March 30, 1988

Present: Chairman John Barrett, Secretary Bob Davis, Committeemen Francis Levier and Hilton Melot, Director of Accounting Carolyn Givens, Economic Development Director Bob Shapiro, Tribal Rolls Director Ava DeLeon, Recording Secretary Pat Sulcer, Enterprise Director Jerry Motley, Operations Manager Bob Dunning; Guest: Jim Young.

Chairman Barrett called the meeting to order at 5:55 p.m.

Bob Davis moved to approve the minutes of the March 9 Business Committee meeting as read. Francis Levier seconded; passed 4-0.

Two bids were received by Title VI after twice advertising for the purchase of a van for the elderly feeding program. Harvey's GMC in Shawnee received approval for the van purchase. Francis Levier moved to approve Potawatomi Resolution #88-59 approving purchase of a Title VI van from Harvey's GMC for \$16,830.

Hilton Melot moved to approve Potawatomi Resolution #88-60 appointing John Barrett and Francis Levier as tribal representatives to United Indian Tribes of Western Oklahoma and Kansas and naming Hilton Melot and Bob Davis as alternate representatives. Francis Levier seconded; passed 4-0.

After revisions of the draft set-aside budget for 1988 Hilton Melot moved to approve Resolution #88-61 establishing a set aside budget to go to referendum in the 1988 June election. Bob Davis seconded; passed 4-0.

Francis Levier moved to approve Resolution #88-62 "adopting the position that the tribe will conduct its own emergency planning and community right-to-know committee" and naming administrative and community members as representatives to the committee. Bob Davis seconded; passed 4-0.

After discussion Bob Davis moved to approve Resolution #88-63 hiring Washington attorney Nate Burgerbest of the Doyle and Savit firm to contact and solicit congressional support for the tribe's constitutional amendment concerning descendency enrollment criteria, placing a \$2500 cap on administrative activities and a total \$5000 cap for administrative remedy up to date of trial. Francis Levier seconded; approved 4-0.

Committee consensus was to turn down a "settlement" offer from EMCI submitted by the bingo firm after Judge Alley's ruling that federal court did not have jurisdiction over the tribe.

Francis Levier moved to approve Resolution #88-64 accepting six (6) qualified applicants for tribal enrollment. Hilton Melot seconded; passed 4-0.

Committee adjourned at 10:00 p.m.

—Notice to all royalty holders—

NOTICE OF PENDENCY OF CLASS ACTION

TO: All Indians owning oil or natural gas interests in allotted lands within the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Notice is hereby given to you that the plaintiffs in Kauley, et al. v. United States, et al., No. Civ. 84-3306T in the United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma have filed a suit on behalf of themselves and all members of the class similarly situated.

By order dated August 7, 1987 the Court in this action determined that the action should be maintained as a class action under the provisions of Rule 23(b) (1) and (b) (2) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

On December 14, 1984, the individually named plaintiffs filed an action for declaratory and injunctive relief alleging that the Department of the Interior failed to comply with and enforce the Federal Oil and Gas Royalty Management Act of 1982 ("FOGRMA") and other preexisting regulations concerning management of oil and gas properties and royalties belonging to plaintiffs and the defendant has breached its fiduciary duty by not fulfilling its trust responsibility with regard to the statutory mandates of FOGRMA. Plaintiffs seek an order compelling defendants to comply with and enforce the FOGRMA and the regulations and requiring defendants to account for and make timely royalty payments. Defendants deny plaintiffs claims and state they are in compliance with the Act and regulations.

The complaint was amended on March 28, 1985 to allege injury to a class of plaintiffs. On June 18, 1985, plaintiffs moved the Court for class certification and on July 23, 1985, the plaintiffs and defendants stipulated that the suit should be maintained as a class action. The Court certified that the suit should be maintained as a class action on August 7, 1987 argued a Motion for Partial Summary Judgment which is pending before the Court at the present time. The defendants have been served with and have responded to interrogatories and have produced documents in furtherance of the suit.

THEREFORE, YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED:

Test your golf skills during Potawatomi weekend

Firelake Golf Course, owned and operated by the Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe, will host three days of special events in conjunction with the 1988 General Council and Pow Wow.

A four-person scramble will begin Friday, June 24, at 10 a.m. Cost is \$10 entry plus \$7 green fee.

For \$45 men and women can enter the 2nd Annual Potawatomi Indian Golf Tournament to be held Saturday and Sunday, June 25 and 26. The fee includes green fee and

a free meal. To enter the tournament you must show certificate of degree of Indian blood.

Money orders or cashier's checks may be sent to Firelake Indian Golf Club, % Firelake Golf Course, Route 5 Box 151, Shawnee, OK 74801. Cash entries only will be accepted on June 25.

Watch for more information in future *HowNiKans*, or call Firelake Golf Course at (405) 275-3121.

Mail To:
Firelake Indian Golf Club
Firelake Golf Course
Rt. 5, Box 151
Shawnee, OK 74801

Not Responsible For Accidents, Injury or Theft!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

TRIBAL AFFILIATION _____

1ST TEE TIME _____ 2ND TEE TIME _____

Entry fee of \$45 includes two days of golf, green fees, meal, prizes and more. Scramble fee is additional \$10 green fees of \$7. Friday morning, June 24, 1987 - 10 a.m. SHARPI Rental carts available.

1. By order of the Court, dated August 7, 1987, if you are an Indian owning oil or gas interests in allotted lands within the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Area of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, you are a member of the plaintiff class.

2. The purpose of this notice is simply to inform you that your interest regarding the defendant's alleged failure to comply with and enforce the Federal Oil and Gas Royalty Management Act of 1982 are the subject of a lawsuit in Federal Court. This Notice is sent at the Court's direction for the sole purpose of informing you of the pendency of this litigation so that you may decide what steps you may wish to take. As a member of the plaintiff class, you will be bound by any future order of this Court pursuant to Federal Rules Civil Procedure 23 (c) (3).

3. Your interests are currently represented by plaintiffs David Kauley, Mary Limpy and Thelma Haag and their attorneys: Steven Moore, Native American Rights Fund, 1506 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 90302 and Judy Lewis, Oklahoma Indian Legal Services, 3033 North Walnut, Suite 103W, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105 (405) 528-5500.

4. The three plaintiffs with the assistance of the attorneys named above will represent your interests in the lawsuit and you need do nothing. If you wish to participate in the lawsuit or have more information about it, you may either contact one of the plaintiffs' attorneys with information or questions, or, if you do not wish plaintiffs' attorneys to represent you, you may contact your own attorney, who will advise you.

5. The pleadings and other papers filed in this action are available for inspection in the Office of the Clerk of this Court. They may be examined and copies made at any time during regular office hours at the Office of the Clerk at the address listed below. Do not call the Judge or the Clerk of the Court concerning this litigation. Written requests for any additional information concerning this litigation may be submitted to the Clerk of the Court. The Clerk's address is as follows: Office of the Clerk, United States District Court, Federal Building, 200 N.W. 4th, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73102. The Court expresses no opinion as to the merits of this case.

Potawatomi of Kansas: The Road To The Allotment Experience

(The following is excerpted from Fr. Joseph Murphy's book on the history of the tribe after removal west of the Mississippi River. The book is expected out this summer.)

The granting of allotments to the Kaw Valley Potawatomi did not necessarily reflect their desires, nor was it basically motivated by high esteem for their advancement in white civilization. The Potawatomi in Kansas were caught in a squeeze of national policy and politics probably more inexorable and demanding than the pressures that had forced them from the shores of the Great Lakes, western Iowa, and the Osage River.

The policy of the United States towards the Indians was spelled out in an Act of Congress, March 3, 1853, that provided for the inauguration of a systematic effort to remove all tribes from areas adaptable to white civilization located west of the Mississippi River. This officially sounded the death knell for the Indian Territory as originally conceived by Isaac McCoy and others. The new approach to the development of the West took little account of the solemn treaty obligations to the aborigines, most of whom, including the Potawatomi, had already undergone two or three forced removals.

Fulfillment of the 1853 statutory provisions was not easy. Some Indian Department officials, very notably Commissioner George W. Manypenny, were uncooperative. But individual bureaucrats could not hold up the process long; they could be and were removed from office. Compromises and modifications were necessary in activating the program. Nevertheless, there was no retreat from the proposition that the Indians must give up the great portion of their lands to white settlement. During the later 1850's and 1860's, demanding and forcing the aborigines to take allotments became standard practice.

The Potawatomi were caught in this net of historical circumstances. The treaty of 1861, which they signed, represented a bowing to power they could not resist. It was simply a matter of alternatives, and for the great body of the Potawatomi this seemed to be the best alternative. Meanwhile, a great new force had entered the field of national politics, namely, railroad interests. The Indians were in a special manner the victims of the interplay and dynamic drive of these concerns. But after all this is taken into account, and without rebasing the unsavory details, there still remains the question of whether the Potawatomi were sufficiently advanced to be considered reasonable prospects for adjustment to an allotment system. Obviously, from what happened, the plan adopted in 1861 with its failure to provide safeguards, proved unfeasible.

White men closely associated with the Potawatomi witnessed to the adaptability of the civilized Indians to take allotments. Concerning the attitudes and opinions of the Potawatomi themselves, there is virtually no record until the period just prior to the government's decision to force the sectionizing issue. At that time the educated and highly developed mixed-bloods, as well as representatives of the Prairie Band, became very active and very eloquent. But this was subsequent to the realization that a real squeeze was upon them, and some of the discussion seems to indicate an attempt to salvage something from past treaty obligations to the tribe. Also, Potawatomi opinion was often the product of white influences that, for one motive or another, actively increased as the pressure increased. On the other hand, earlier white reflections on the prospect of sectionizing the Potawatomi were made in circumstances entirely free of such pressures. Comments of the mid-1850's, although cognizant of the overpowering determination of the white settlers to possess most of the better lands of the Indians, did not visualize an almost sudden, ill-advised yielding to a scheme fostering railway interests. Nor did the arguments of this period favoring an allottee status suggest an immediate attempt to make "citizens" of the tribesmen. The fiction of regarding Potawatomi as equals of the surrounding whites, as implied by the treaty of 1861, simply paved the way for a measure of exploitation which even this tribe had hardly experienced in the past.

It may come as a surprise that Isaac McCoy, in 1838, strongly recommended a system of lands in severalty for the Potawatomi of the Osage River reserve. According to McCoy's own account, he submitted a request to Washington that such a plan be approved. This is somewhat remarkable in view of the fact that it preceded the period of progressive development in agriculture. It establishes the point that McCoy, who was an on-the-ground observer of the Potawatomi in Michigan and Indiana, thought very highly of them as candidates for the system of landholding that went into effect for most of the Indians of the United States with the Dawes Act, 50 years later. It appears that McCoy and his co-workers promoted an Indian petition requesting allotments. This is his own description of the incident:

"The Potawatomes had been induced to request the Government to subdivide so much of their lands as was needed for immediate occupancy, so that each could hold land in severalty. I submitted their petition to the Department of Indian Affairs, and also a scheme, which I recommended for carrying the same into effect. Just views of this subject were taken by Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and prompt attention given to it; but contrary to what we expected, the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, without doubting the importance of the measure in regard to the interests of the Indians, doubted the propriety of the Government undertaking to make these surveys, supposing that it was a work which the Indians ought to do at their own expense, and therefore reported unfavorably on the measure. This failure we deeply regretted. We could not doubt that formidable obstacles to the improvement of the Indians originated in their community of right in the soil, and no point in the business of life is more evident than that industry and enterprise are promoted by individual right in landed property, by which the owner is assured that his house, and his field, and his fruit tree, are his own, and will be the property of his legal heirs. Our regrets were the greater too, because this was the first instance of an Indian Tribe expressing a desire to hold land in severalty; it was a measure to which we attached great importance, and it could not reasonably be expected that so great a change from the custom of ages could be effected without some extraneous aid. The repulsion of this first effort, by withholding the co-operation of Government, looked like nipping good fruit in the bud."

A retrospective review of the Osage reserve raises doubts as to whether any portion of the Potawatomi were far enough advanced in 1838 to make a success of lands in severalty. Yet it is significant that the idea and the argument for allotment were given such clear expression at that early date.

Another boost for lands in severalty for the Potawatomi of the Osage came in 1839 from the pen of their sub-agent, Major Anthony L. Davis. He did not argue at length, but his recommendation is clear and unmistakable:

"The Potawatomes came to this country under the expectation that their lands would be laid off to them severally in suitable farm lots. They still desire it, and it is a measure which would no doubt tend greatly to the promotion of civilization among them."

Without any reflection on the honesty or integrity of the sub-agent, it is uncertain whether more than a small minority of the Potawatomi, usually the vocal mixed-blood class, desired lands in severalty at that time. Nevertheless, Davis personally regarded the idea as having merit.

The subject of allotment status for these Indians dropped out of the reports, correspondence, and discussions from the late 1830's until 1853. Congress, in that year, formulated a policy for Indian Territory. There is no evidence that severalty was considered during the government's negotiation of the 1846 Potawatomi treaty. This pact, too, was another application of force, and was characterized by its expediency. Its stated intent was to reunite the nation of the Potawatomi, and there was little concern about prospective forms of landholding. Research reveals that the question did not arise during the first years of the relocation on the Kaw River Reservation. It was the veteran Baptist missionary Robert Simerwell who, incidentally, in November, 1853, mentioned allotments in a letter to his daughter:

"The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is expected back in April to hold treaties with the other Indian tribes. Some tribes wish to sell, others wish to have their land divided and become citizens. Other tribes wish to remain undisturbed, but I suppose the most of them will sell."

He then went on to prophesy, very correctly, that the whites would come and the Indian country would change. Here appeared the word "citizens" as a prospective status for some of the Indians of

Kansas. Exactly what the term connoted, either for the Indians or for the whites in 1853, would be difficult to determine. Prior to 1853 there was little precedent in Indian treaties and federal Indian law for defining the nature of Indian citizenship. To judge from the quantity of confusion, interpretation, and litigation which arose under later legislation conferring Indian citizenship, the concept has continued to create difficulties down to recent times.

After congress acted on March 3, 1853, George W. Manypenny lost no time in conferring with the Potawatomi. For him, evidently, persuading the Indians to accept an allottee status and dispose of their surplus lands was an acceptable alternative to complete removal. Manypenny made the first overture, but upon discovering a general Potawatomi resistance, did not press the matter:

"In the autumn of 1853 Colonel Manypenny, commissioner of Indian Affairs, met the Potawatomi in council and proposed to them on the part of the government the purchase of their superfluous lands, at the same time authorizing them to sectionize the unsold portions. The Potawatomi rejected the proposals made by the commissioner, declaring themselves unwilling to sell or divide their lands or exchange them for other lands. Manypenny readily acquiesced in the stand taken by the Indians as he had no intention of urging them an acceptance of what was distasteful to them. . ."

During the succeeding years the merits and demerits of sectionizing were continuously debated on the Potawatomi Reservation but Manypenny himself did not force the plan upon this tribe. He was no longer in office when the decision was imminent. Yet any evaluation of the various arguments after 1853 must include recognition of the fact that substantial changes were in the offing for the Indian reservations of Kansas.

Some staunch proponents of sectionizing the Potawatomi saw it as a solution to another problem that arose from the attempt to create a "unified nation." In brief, the so-called "unity" was not a success. This was a source of trouble and friction for agents and missionaries alike. Fully conscious of the pressures demanding the Potawatomi lands, they now advocated that the agricultural Indians, the major portion of the tribe, be given lands in severalty as an encouragement to their more advanced status and as

protection against the ravages of their more primitive, hunting brethren. Sectionizing would, they thought, solve two problems: first, the public greed for the Indian lands would be satisfied; second, the more advanced elements of the tribe could be benefited. Due to unforeseen complications, the second aim was not achieved. In any case, the actual status of the Potawatomi Nation was deeply involved in the sequence of events which led to sectionization.

Agent George W. Clarke, in 1855, gave his impressions of the so-called "unified nation":

"... a tribe once so powerful, now weak and imbecile from diminished numbers, divisions into clans, and divided councils, and from the ascendancy and rule of the ignorant and intolant portion of this unfortunate people. A portion of these people have for a long time had intercourse with the whites, and in a measure adopted the civilized mode of life, and they manifest a desire for the improvement of themselves and their people. This class comprises portions of the 'Wabash' and 'St. Joseph's' bands, and having a prominence in their several bands, would be successful in reclaiming, to some extent, under the management of their government, their kinsmen, had they not in their midst the formidable obstacle of the 'Prairie' band, or Bluff Indians, to oppose, thwart and defeat every measure or improvement among this unhappy people."

“ The treaty of 1861, which they signed, represented a bowing to power they could not resist ... Meanwhile, a great new force had entered the field of national politics, namely railroad interests. ”

From this collective characterization of the Potawatomi, Clarke proceeded to analyze the Prairie Band in greater detail. They despised work, adhered to the hunting life, and denounced the elements of the tribe which adopted the ways of civilization and cultivation of the soil. This band, he wrote, claimed to own "all the land" and alleged that all the other bands really had no rights either to land or annuities, "they being permitted to participate in them only on the courtesy of their condescending brothers." Furthermore, the Prairie Band was guilty of preying upon the more civilized Indians by making intrusions and depredations, by killing livestock, burning fences, turning their ponies into the cultivated fields, and even threatening the "lives of the orderly portion of the tribe."

Continuing, the agent gave his views on the current controversy over sectionizing the land:

"Thus two conflicting elements prevail to distract and stifle the usual efforts of government to improve these people. . . The weak who are subjected to the tyranny of brute force, should enjoy the protection of a strong power. That portion who desire to lead a civilized life, to cultivate the soil, raise stock, cherish education, should have the protection of good government and efficient laws. . . A portion of this tribe who have adopted civilized life, and those who manifest a preference for such a life, undisguisedly declare that their only salvation is in a treaty, by which their lands will be run out, sectionized, and each individual assigned his own tract, with the protecting power of a State or territorial government and laws. They not only desire to own their own lands, but they require to be sustained in the possession of the fruits of their labor. The others will meet their inevitable destiny which hangs over them, let the policy of the government be what it may. The policy now attempted to be carried out of endeavoring to amalgamate the civilized and uncivilized portions, is only 'crushing out' civilization, abandoning the hopeful portion to the ruin of semi-barbarism, and will inevitably destroy the whole tribe. Under the policy suggested by the intelligent portion, opportunity and protection will be afforded, not only to the civilized but the uncivilized. The former will avail themselves of the policy; some stragglers of the latter may adhere to the civilized mode of life, and all these be reclaimed. If the 'Prairie' band obstinately adheres to its present mode of life (which I am sure a majority will do) they will wander off to remote and more congenial tribes and lands, and disappear before the tide of civilization. This is their destiny; in all events, then, is it not wiser to hasten this result before the better portion of the tribe is destroyed? Save these if you can; save at least the remnant of a once powerful race, who now throw themselves upon the power, magnanimity and wisdom of a great government; who appeal to you for protection. It is melancholy to contemplate such miserable prospects as at present are presented to these people. It is painful to behold intelligent, orderly, industrious families struggling against the despotism of ignorant barbarism."

Even granting that Clarke exaggerated in his description of the two classifications of Indians, his analysis places the 1861 treaty in a slightly different light from that of a nefarious scheme to favor the interests of a railway company. Clarke, quite remarkably, foresaw the absolute need of strong protection by local government for prospective Indian allottees. Failure of local authority was the very key to the later failure of the sectionized Potawatomi in Kansas. Also, the Potawatomi agent accurately prophesied the wholesale scattering of the Prairie Band; although several unforeseen factors entered into their dispersal. But his dire forebodings on their destruction were overly pessimistic.

John Baptist Duerinck of St. Mary's, more than anyone else, kept alive a continuous campaign for sectionizing the Potawatomi. Beginning in the fall of 1855, he constantly alluded to the subject in his communications to the Indian Department. The Annual Report for 1855, 1856, and 1857 carried his somewhat lengthy comments. In his 1855 report, Duerinck listed 14 separate reasons for the adoption of the policy of lands in severalty. Although he implicitly saw it as a means of adjusting the Indian to

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Potawatomi of Kansas

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the rapid settlement of Kansas by the whites, his most emphatic point was that such a change was necessary to foster energy and responsibility among the aborigines. His criticism of the old lands-in-common economy was couched in general terms, with no specific restriction of the discussion to any particular tribe or time. His word-picture, however, of unfavorable, existing conditions was strictly Potawatomi:

"We beg leave to say a word on the Indian policy. The system of possessing lands in common, one hundred and twenty individuals claiming an acre as their own property, is replete with evil and bad consequences that will frustrate the best hopes that the friends of the Indians have conceived. I am bold to maintain that no Indian, no half-breed, no white man living amongst them, will ever feel encouraged to make his premises a comfortable home as long as he labors under the fear that his improvements are liable to be sold for the benefit of the nation at large. Give them a title to the land, and you will soon see them vie with each other in their improvements. Interest, emulation a laudable degree of pride, which are innate in everyone of us, will do more to carry them honorably through the world than all the penalties and coercions now in force amongst them. . . We tell the Indians that the first step towards civilization is to give up their wandering life, to settle down, and to till the soil. When they go work and raise good crops they say it does them no good, because their hungry, half-starved neighbors hand round them and eat them up. This miserable custom, this aversion to work, this eternal begging, disheartens the willing Indian, and he becomes at last so reckless that he feels disposed to abandon our advice, and he concludes that it is far better for him to live and to die as an Indian after having vainly endeavored to live like a white man."

This served as an introduction for Duerinck's 14 reasons advocating allotments.

It is apparent that the St. Mary's headman was objecting to the preying of the non-farming, hunter-type Indians upon those of settled, domestic life. Duerinck and Agent Clarke agreed explicitly. Any situation which encouraged Indian indolence was exceedingly irritating to the energetic Jesuit who visualized land in severalty as a kind of panacea for this trait. In his report for 1857 he used such terms as "drones," "haughty loafers," and "blockish fellows." Listing again his arguments for the allotment system, Duerinck stated six of them, more or less a recapitulation of his arguments of 1855.

“The Potawatomes have no regularly established government...Influence and interest of individuals frequently protect individuals from punishment for the worst crimes.”

The long controversy over sectionizing definitely contributed to the nature and character of the Citizen Band. Although the actual failure of the allotment system in Kansas must never be disregarded, the struggle preceding its adoption had lasting consequences. The ancient tendency to factionalism had an opportunity for full play. Apart from the very evident increase of bitterness between the domestic and hunter-type elements, between the sectionizers and non-sectionizers, there was an ideal situation for the development of deep partisan patterns. Basically this was inherent to the nature of governmental authority within the Potawatomi Tribe, or the lack of it. But the whole controversy contributed to an

informal constitutional development which had enduring results. This was particularly true in reference to the Citizen Band.

In 1855 Agent George Clarke described governmental authority among the Potawatomi on the Kaw as follows:

"The Potawatomes have no regularly established government. The dicta of self-constituted councils is the law of the time. Influence and interest of individuals frequently protect individuals from punishment for the worst crimes. Murders, thefts, rapes are but seldom punished, and never, except in cases of retaliation, which disturb the peace of the country still more. These people cannot even boast of following ancient customs or adhering to traditions. The hereditary chiefs have been set aside, not by the formal disposition of the people, but by bold, artful and ambitious men, who have usurped their places, and who, by threats, awe the peaceable portion of all the people into submission. Among these usurpers changes are constantly going on. A man more bold and artful rises and supercedes some individual who possesses less of these qualifications, and who in turn is "set back." It is the influence and determination of the "Prairie" band that keeps up this state of things, they being the master spirits in the councils."

During the 1850's, departmental correspondence discussing Potawatomi chieftains verified Clarke's report. They really had very little power as such, although Prairie Band chiefs were inclined to be more assertive. Study of the Potawatomi of the United Band in Iowa as well as of the Osage River reserve furnishes a suitable background for an understanding of the situation. Agent Luke Lea, writing in 1850 concerning a Potawatomi council, made the significant remark: *"How many of the chiefs were present, I cannot say, for I do not believe that the nation itself knows who are its chiefs. . ."* Upon the request of Commissioner Manypenny, Agent John W. Whitfield, in 1853, submitted a list of the Potawatomi who claimed to be chiefs. The agent called a special council of the nation in order to ascertain who the chiefs were. In 1856 Clarke on two separate occasions assigned a special position of importance to Chief We-we-say, referring to him as "Chief of the Mission Indians" and as "Principal Chief" of the St. Joseph Band. In the latter letter Clarke described Pah-eh-go-shuk as "Principal Chief" of the Prairie Band. We-we-say, he wrote, represented "the intelligence and civilization" of the tribe, while Pah-eh-go-shuk represented its "authority."

Chiefs from Council Bluffs claimed a relatively higher position than the others in the hierarchy of leadership. Their claim was associated with the general feeling of the former United Band members that they had a priority of interest in the Kansas River Reservation. This facet must be kept in mind in endeavoring to comprehend the degree of bitterness which the Prairie Band members evinced at the signing of the treaty of 1861. Three years earlier, as the battle over sectionizing became warmer and warmer, and after a rash of Indian delegations with varying interests made trips to Washington, Agent William E. Murphy endeavored to persuade all the chiefs to sign a "Charter of Unity." Murphy describes the failure of his effort in the following discourse:

"I showed them the importance of adjusting among themselves those difficulties and dissensions that have existed amongst them since they were located upon their present Reserve. I told them the first step to take was for the Chiefs to unite, and had read to them the inclosed Article No. 1 (of Murphy's "Charter of Unity"), and urged them to sign it, and told them if they would in this manner recancile their differences, the whole tribe would then unite. The Chiefs all agreed to sign, excepting those of the "Prairie Band," who signified that they were the true owners of the land, the Royal Chiefs. . . I explained to them that in this they were mistaken, that the Government when they placed the United Bands of Potawatomes, Chippewas, and Ottawas, on this reservation, its design was that they should be on a perfect equality, and one portion of them had no more rights than another, that the government wished them to unite in friendship, and that in the Treaty of 1846 they had promised to be a united nation. Knowing as I do, the principal question that now divides them is in regard to sectionizing their land, and that the Intelligent, Industrious, and sober portion of them, which constitutes a majority of the Tribe, are in favor of sectionizing, I felt it to be my duty to give them advice. . ."

Instead of taking advice or signing the instrument of unity, the Prairie chiefs stalked out of the council. It should be mentioned that at the time of this incident the government was exerting renewed pressure to acquire Indian lands in Kansas, and Commissioner Manypenny was no longer in office. It was a little naive to attempt to establish true unity among the Potawatomi under troubled circumstances, especially since it could not be achieved in earlier and more favorable times.

Murphy also explained that the tribal schism was widening because the Prairie Potawatomi were taking direction and advice from Anthony Navarre. This man was of Indiana origin, a former student of the Choctaw Academy, and an allottee and Citizen Potawatomi under the 1861 treaty. But both before and after the treaty, he was most influential as a guide and counselor of the Prairie faction. Still later, in Oklahoma, there was no personality more powerful in the business affairs of the Citizen Band than Anthony Navarre. It is interesting that he first came into prominence and sharpened his acumen while acting as the guiding spirit of the anti-sectionizer Potawatomi elements in Kansas.

Potawatomi delegations to Washington during the 1850's exhibited another characteristic of the intra-tribal struggle. Toward the end of the decade, delegations were sharply defined as sectionizers or anti-sectionizers. The Prairie elements and their promoters were slightly more aggressive during visitations to the nation's capital. The memory of the rather successful sojourn from Council Bluffs in 1845, featuring Richard Elliot as director of Potawatomi theatrics, seems to have given them a lasting conviction that the way to conduct successful business was to go and see the "Great Father" himself. Meanwhile, the leaders of the agricultural or Mission Indians appear to have developed a similar conviction. This is important in that the tendency became a definite policy of the Citizen Band in Oklahoma. The record will also show that Anthony Navarre was more effective in Washington during the 1880's for the Citizen Band than he was for the Prairie Indians during the years preceding the treaty of 1861.

Delegations to Washington had certain common features. Some were authorized by the agents or higher officials of the Indian Department; most of them were not. When a group took off to the capital during the first phases of the struggle it almost invariably represented itself as authorized by the whole nation. This resulted in violent protests from the dissenting factions. Some of the delegations, whether previously authorized by the department or not, succeeded in getting all the expenses of the trips paid from tribal funds. Favor and preference for the "Mission Indians" by the local agents was the source of increased irritation and determination on the part of the representatives of the Prairie Band. Indications are that the rank and file of the Indians in both camps knew or understood very little of what was going on.

By 1857 activities became more feverish, for by that time the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs had served notice that the Potawatomi must give up some of their land. Since this was manifestly the main issue in all phases of this era of intra-tribal, unbloody warfare, a few illustrations are in order from the record of the rival delegations; they reflect Indian reaction to the unrelenting squeeze inflicted upon them.

The already harassed local agent, William E. Murphy, received a special prod from Commissioner James A. Denver, some time in the autumn of 1857, which only helped to solidify the opposing forces. On the 19th of November, following a personal conference with the Commissioner, Murphy called a great council at which he explained to the Potawatomi some of the grim realities facing them. General Denver, he said, really loved them all very much, but, there was no question about it, their reservation must be cut down. As for lands in fee simple, well, that was a possibility; however, they must first show their competence to become citizens of the United States. Murphy proposed that the commissioner might make a "deal" of some type if they would simply agree to dispose of all the reservation land south of the Kaw River. He also gave them the traditional lecture on the importance of sobriety and devotion to manual labor.

The result of the agent's speech was a rise in Indian hostility and their determination to dispatch immediately two separate delegations to Washington. Murphy describes the reaction, also adding other comments which aid in understanding the atmosphere of the struggle of the time:

Continued, next page

Thanks!

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for your support and input.

I pledge to represent you to the best of my ability and to maintain an open door policy in the office of tribal secretary-treasurer.

Bob Davis

Potawatomi Tribal
Secretary/Treasurer

Potawatomi Of The West

(from page 12)

"The Indians within this Agency, that is a portion of them, have for some months past been extremely anxious to have their reservation sectionized, and granted to them the title in fee simple thereto. At the late payment of their annuities to them I promised them, if they would meet in Council on some future day I would give them my advice, and as near as I could the views of their friend, Gen. Denver, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, upon the subject. They accordingly agreed to meet here on the 19th inst. They had at former preliminary meetings determined to send two delegations on, one from the Mission band and the other from the Prairie band, the first in favor of sectionizing, the latter opposed to it. My object was to unite them as one family, upon such plan as I conceived to be most to their interest, and most in accordance with the views of the Hon. Commissioner as understood them from him. I knew the discordant elements I would have to contend with, in endeavoring to unite them upon this question, and in order to show clearly my course, I used the precaution to write down my advice before giving it, which I herewith transmit. They met here on the 19th inst. and continued in Council until the evening of the 21st. During which time I used every exertion in my power to unite them. I am sorry to say without effect, delegations go, instructed by the respective bands (contrary as you will perceive to my advice), to contend for fee simple title to all of their reserve, the 'Mission Indians' for sectionizing, and the 'Prairie Indians' opposed to sectionizing, and a large majority of the whole tribe opposed to becoming Citizens. The truth is the poor 'Prairie band' of Pottawatomies appear to be confirmed in their ignorant obstinacy, and a large portion of the 'Mission band' have had bad advisors, both half-breeds and white men, who I fear are governed more by mercenary motives, than for the future welfare of the poor Indian. . . ."

“Mr. Thomas N. Stinson, who was present at the Council, remarked to me after it was over that he had known the Pottawatomies intimately for the last sixteen years, and that he had never yet known them to unite in council upon any proposition made to them.”

By March, 1858, the delegates of the Prairie Indians were in Washington. No visible results came from the trip, but characteristically, the Prairie Band claimed to represent the full authority of the whole tribe and made urgent requests that the expenses of the sojourn be allowed from the common Potawatomi fund. That the request was granted is apparent from subsequent correspondence. What transpired in Washington is not clear, but to judge from later events the mode of the Prairie Band leaders did not change. It was immediately upon the return from Washington that Anthony Navarre and his colleagues marched out of the council where Murphy proposed his "Charter of Unity."

The other delegation was a complete failure. To begin with, the group did not get any farther than St. Louis, where they were turned back by order of the Indian Department. The agent himself decided to join this group; a tactical blunder which got him in trouble with both contending factions of the Indians. He reported that his delegation, consisting of Benjamin H. Bertrand, Amable Bertrand, Joseph N. Bourassa, and Madore Beaubien, all acted in a "very unbecoming manner" in St. Louis after the mandate came for them to return home. Anyway, he said, although all four were "shrewd and intelligent half-breeds," their own constituents had now lost confidence in them on account of their conduct, and "now there is neither of the four that the Indians would trust to transact business for them. . . . They attempted, in St. Louis, to borrow \$2,000 from Mr. Chouteau, with Murphy to promise reimbursement of the sum. In Leavenworth they sought similar security for a \$1,000 worth of clothing. The agent refused on both counts. In a letter describing the failure of the "Unity Council" in which Murphy denounces the leadership of Anthony Navarre, he also paints a picture of the dilemma in which he found himself as a result of the double delegation:

"The dissatisfaction existing within this tribe at the present time is attributable to two causes: 1st, the visit of the Prairie Delegation to Washington City, representing as they did a minority, and going there contrary to my advice and the wish of the majority, and creating an expense to the nation of over three thousand dollars. 2nd, the inability of the second delegation that started to reach Washington City. Now the first delegation charge me with taking sides against them, merely because I advised them to yield their views to those of the majority. The second delegation, or at least a portion of them . . . abused me because I would not take them on to Washington, in direct violation of orders from the Department, by telling the poor, simple Indians that I am not a fitting agent for them, in consequence of not having sufficient influence with the government to take their delegation on . . ."

Pity the poor Potawatomi agent! Caught in a triple squeeze between General Denver and two warring parties of Indians, he was not making himself popular with any of them.

For more than a year some members of the short-circuited delegation kept up a feud with their agent. One certainty in regards to Potawatomi factions: nobody became permanently angry at opposing individuals. So, in 1859, Amable Bertrand and Joseph N. Bourassa accepted the help of Anthony Navarre in preparing a mighty protest against Murphy's dismissal of a blacksmith by the name of Robert McKowen. They sent a petition to the Indian Department, signed by many tribesmen, requesting that the agent himself be dismissed. Murphy countered with a lengthy defense of himself, and enclosed an Indian petition with 54 signatures. Amazingly, Madore Beaubien was now over on the agent's side. Lewis Ogee, of Council Bluffs origin, was stoutly in support of Bourassa and Navarre. This controversy, of no particular importance in itself, illustrates in a spectacular manner how the mixed-blood elements, whether of Council Bluffs or Osage River background, acted in fraternity with each other. All the principals in the contest passed over to the rolls of the Citizen Band except Frank Bourbonnais and Eli Nadeau. Even Nadeau was on the 1863 Citizen Band allotment roll, but later, with his family, withdrew to remain with the Prairie Band.

In the course of the campaign to remove the tormented agent, Amable Bertrand wrote one letter that represented a new low in tattle-taling on Indian officials. He reported that Murphy used liquor (anyone who informed upon another usually made this indictment!); that he tarried around Fort Leavenworth too much, probably spending the Indians' money; and that he had released the wagon-maker without cause. But worse than all that, Bertrand charged, the agent killed an old hen and her young chicks. Why? Because the hen, belonging to a poor old woman, was so indiscreet as to hatch in the agent's stable; furthermore, Murphy had done "other little things to annoy poor women. . . ." Murphy successfully defended himself and did not lose his position. In one of his own letters he asserted that the dissatisfaction of the meddlesome "half-breeds and whites married in the reservation" over the removal of the blacksmith was nothing more than spite; also, he charged, Amable Bertrand was recently brought to court in Fort Leavenworth for engaging in the liquor traffic. Thus the counter-attack.

From the autumn of 1857 until the latter part of 1860 agent Murphy's correspondence carried three repetitious themes. Arguments for sectionizing came first. Secondly, he continually bewailed the attitude of the Prairie elements of the Potawatomi. Thirdly, he devoted much space to Anthony Navarre whom he blamed personally for the stubborn, adamant opposition displayed by the Prairie Band. His discussions of the ideal results anticipated after severally echoed the earlier reasonings of Duerinck. While he may have been sincere in continuing to stress possible benefits, he was nonetheless operating under pressure from General Denver's office. Awareness of an inevitable change for the Potawatomi also raised the issue of alternatives. Indeed, the issue came up in his general report to the commissioner in 1859. After the usual praise for the Mission Indians, he wrote:

"I trust that the government will, at no distant day yield to their request by sectionizing their land, and giving them the title thereto, throwing around it, however, such barriers as will prevent the self-conceited, sharp, and would-be knowing members of the tribe from taking advantage of them. I deeply sympathize with the honest and industrious portion of these people upon this subject. . . . They would make good citizens, and, from their commendable industry and ardent desire to have for

themselves and their children permanent homesteads, have strong claims upon the consideration of the department, the prompt recognition of which, in my opinion, is demanded by humanity, justice, and sound policy. Their preservation and permanency on their present reserve can only be effected by citizenizing them, and granting them title in fee simple to the land."

This was an effort to salvage as favorable an arrangement as conditions permitted. Murphy foresaw the need of "barriers" to control the "sharp" operators among the Potawatomi themselves. This advice had certain merit, but as events proved, it was a secondary consideration. More pressing was the need for protection from the white population of Kansas.

On one occasion the agent betrayed a lack of confidence in the wisdom of following the so-called desires of the Potawatomi. A general council of the tribe repudiated a request of the department concerning some of the funds held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior. Since unity was impossible in the councils of these people, as Murphy opined, the government should make their decisions for them:

"The fact is there are a great many of the poor unfortunate Pottawatomies that are as simple as little children and who do not know what is best for their own interest. Others who are obstinate and contrary, and take great trouble to prejudice the Indians against the government. . . . the department ought in its wisdom to do what it deems best for them, whether they consent or not. . . . Mr. Thomas N. Stinson who was present at the Council remarked to me after it was over that he had known the Pottawatomies intimately for the last sixteen years, and that he had never yet known them to unite in council upon any proposition made to them."

By implication, Murphy here seems to suggest that few, if any, of the Potawatomi were prepared to assume the status of citizenship and virtual equality with the surrounding white population. Nevertheless, the recommendation that the government make the decisions was emphatically fulfilled when its representatives imposed the treaty of 1861.

Andrew Jackson, erstwhile Choctaw Academy student and inhabitant of the Osage River reserve, contributed to the picture of the sectionizing struggle during Agent Murphy's tenure. Jackson had run off to Washington in 1856, apparently as a member of a self-appointed two-man delegation. Joseph N. Bourassa, in protesting this move, accused Andrew of being a tool of the Ewing and Company trading combination. Bourassa referred to him as "little Jackson, the trader's man." Approximately two years later the accused wrote to Assistant Commissioner C. E. Mix giving him an analysis of the current battle in Potawatomi land. Jackson declared that Murphy was entirely too partial to the Catholic Indians, dominated as they were by half-breed Frenchmen and white people living within the reservation. The "high style" praising of the Catholic Indians, he declared, was an injustice to the full bloods; the majority of the tribe was getting shabby treatment. Also, Jackson modified Murphy's recommendation that a square-mile of reservation land be set aside for St. Mary's Mission, proposing instead that 320 acres be given to each of the mission schools, both Baptist and Catholic. This suggestion was incorporated exactly into the treaty of 1861, Article VI. Significantly Jackson, in his letter, fully presumed that sectionizing was to become a fact.

Another Potawatomi with an English sounding name, R. H. Waterman, wrote to the department asking for some definite answers:

"... first then what is the policy of the government in regard to reserves. . . is it to sectionize and give each their quota of land? Or, to move us again to some unknown region? This question is important, as many of us have extensive improvements, and are prepared to make much more, such as setting out orchards, buildings, barns, etc. Can we be assured that we will be permitted to hold our farms, and not be liable to be sold out as heretofore? The majority of the nation are desirous of dividing the land, and have already made claims and commenced improving their farms. They have only been prevented from making that desire known to the Government by the interference of one or two individuals who wish to keep it in its present condition. I am satisfied that were one or two individuals removed, the Nation would be almost unanimously in favor of dividing the land."

“Again there is a few agitators in the nation who are continually running to St. Louis and Washington on pretended business for the nation, but whose actions the Nation knows nothing about...”

Waterman had a word of scorn for the practice of organizing delegations to Washington; he desired that it be stopped:

"... Again there is a few agitators in the nation who are continually running to St. Louis and Washington on pretended business for the nation, but whose actions the Nation knows nothing about, and who draw money from the national fund to pay their time and expense, besides running the nation in debt, sometimes quite largely; cannot this be stopped?"

Commissioner A.B. Greenwood, new in his position and apparently unfamiliar with the urgency of the Potawatomi land problem, gave no candid answers to candid questions. In his reply, addressed to Superintendent Robinson, Greenwood simply declared that he could not make a declaration of policy but that he hoped to visit the Potawatomi Reservation in the course of the ensuing autumn, when he would give "definite information" on the points raised by Mr. Waterman. It is very doubtful that Greenwood was able to make good on his promise during 1859. Two years later his successor, William P. Dole, a party to the plot of the mighty railway interests, was much more conversant with the details of the plan for the Potawatomi. One detail was that Dole was scheduled for a "bonus" of 1,200 acres of Potawatomi land as a reward for his efforts in consummating the treaty of 1861.

Anthony Navarre continued to irritate both the agent and a large proportion of the Indians. Far be it from him to give up easily on the theory that proper representation in Washington was the most efficient way to do business. Navarre and another mixed-blood, William Rice, set out again in the latter part of 1859. Murphy promptly protested that they had departed the reservation without authority and "contrary to the knowledge and wish of 4/5 of the tribe." His letter continued with the usual denunciations of Navarre as a "reckless and bad man" who persisted in creating "distraction and discord" among the Potawatomi. The culprit, he charged, was actually "backed only by a small portion, even of the 'Prairie Band' . . ." This Band was showing, in Murphy's opinion, a tendency to swing over to the sentiment of the "majority of the tribe."

On March 14, 1860, an Indian protest gave some confirmation to the agent's allegation that Navarre represented only a fraction of the Prairie Band. Four days later Murphy added further information: Only four chiefs from all sections of the tribe were really behind Navarre, and John Jackson of the Baptist mission had gotten into the act by permitting Navarre to use it as a meeting place just before his departure for Washington; Madore Beaubien had reported this latter development. Apparently Navarre and Rice accomplished nothing by their embassy.

In June, 1860, Navarre came up with a new tactic. This could have been inspired by his realization, at long last, that delegations to Washington, trailed by a string of protests, were not very effective. It is evident that he saw the need for some form of centralized authority in the Potawatomi of the Kaw River. Navarre brought in an attorney from Washington to write a constitution and bylaws for the whole nation. Surprisingly, Murphy permitted the proposed instrument of government to be submitted to the Indians. Although the attorney, Lewis F. Thomas, had been slyly obtained by Navarre without Murphy's authority or knowledge, the agent had cooperated as follows:

"Thomas came to the reservation about the first of June. On the 4th day of June I discovered that he had written a Constitution, and laws, for the government of the Pottawatomies, covering eight or nine pages . . . which was very objectionable in many of its features. I had it read and interpreted to the Indians in full council assembled, and they almost unanimously condemned it. Mr. Thomas was present and saw the general dissatisfaction his course thus

Continued, next page

Potawatomi Of The West

(from page 13)

far had given. On account of his age I treated him respectfully, told him that my duty required me to regard him as an intruder upon the reservation, and hoped that he would leave without my putting him to trouble. . . ."

Thomas elected to disregard the agent's advice and proceeded to get into considerable difficulty. On the 27th of June, Murphy warned him by letter to make his departure. The next day the attorney wrote to the agent and to the President of the United States. In both letters he argued that he was breaking no law and did not intend to leave. More than a year later, Thomas was still protesting to the Secretary of State about his treatment on the Potawatomi Reservation. Murphy arrested him under the Intercourse Act and had him conveyed in much discomfort to Fort Leavenworth for trial. On this journey, Thomas alleged, some of the Indian attendants sympathized with him. They said that they also hated the agent, and if the lawyer would give the word they would "drop him." In Leavenworth the judge turned him loose on the principle that the Intercourse Act did not apply in the case, but this came about only after Thomas had shown the judge where the Act could be found in the *United States Statutes at Large*. His reception among the Potawatomi had been very shabby except for the kind hospitality of his old friend Chief Wob-sai of the Prairie Band. It was true, Thomas confessed, that his "Constitution" was not an ideal one: a half-breed remarked at the council, "That Constitution is a man's coat for a child to wear." This Indian commentary, incidentally, perfectly describes the particular type of citizenship status established by the treaty of 1861.

One important aspect of Navarre's ideas on the needs of the Potawatomi was realized. Unity of the rival bands under a common constitution was no more acceptable or practical than Murphy's "Charter of Unity." The conflicting tribal factions had never united either in spirit or in fact. Unity could not be achieved by the promotion of legal devices in the midst of a long, bitter intra-tribal struggle resulting from the government's pressure on the Potawatomi lands. Nevertheless, the complete inefficiency of rival delegations and unauthorized representations amply demonstrated that an accredited official group was needed to carry on negotiations. This committee, whether set up by written constitution or not, could act as a go-between. Living without a central authority vested in chiefs or a representative body, the Potawatomi attempted to carry on business with the government in open councils. Unable to agree in council, individuals and factions undertook on their own, to negotiate. Any authorized committee, representing all warring factions, would necessarily have its difficulties, but it would be an improvement over the existing anarchy. The Indians themselves came to realize this, or perhaps more accurately, their leaders did. The development came too late to affect the actual negotiations connected with the treaty of 1861. But, as an idea, it arose during the pre-treaty struggle, and would have lasting consequences, especially in the history of the Citizen Band.

According to Agent William W. Ross, his predecessor, William E. Murphy, did not encourage the Indians when they first attempted to set up a unified "Business Committee" in 1860. On the other hand, Ross and Commissioner Dole did everything they could to implement the plan. It would facilitate business negotiations with the troublesome Potawatomi. Writing to Dole in early 1863, Ross gives his version of the rise of the "Committee":

"When you were at my agency in the month of September, 1861 (at this time Dole was really pushing the treaty), you expressed yourself as being desirous of having the Indians inaugurate some kind of an organization whereby a written record of their proceedings could be kept, and the wants of the tribe made known to you . . . other than through the mere assertions of the Agent. A short time after that you made another request to the same effect. Accordingly the chiefs and headmen of the Tribe, were assembled and they ratified a selection

M.B. Beaubien, A.F. Navarre, Jos. N. Bourassa, B.R. Bertrand, John Tipton and Louis Vieux were the first seated Business Committee in 1860.

of six persons to act as a Business Committee, these persons had been appointed a year or more previous to that time, but had never been recognized. . . ."

Agent Ross, himself a conspirator with the railway interests in effecting the treaty of 1861, vigorously promoted the Business Committee. In a letter of March 10, 1862, he expressed exultation upon his success in persuading the "Catholic Band" and the "Bluff Band" to get together on a unified committee. They had met in council on March 5th and approved the enclosed resolution:

"This is to certify that we the undersigned chiefs, and braves, do acknowledge, that in 1860, at Cross Creek Kansas, the Pottawatomie Nation: appointed the following named persons, to wit; M. B. Beaubien, A. F. Navarre, and Jos. N. Bourassa by the Bluff Band of Indians; and B. R. Bertrand, John Tipton, and Louis Vieux by the Catholic Band to transact all their national business, between them and the Agent of the United States and the Indian Department. Now we do hereby authorize the said committee, to enter upon duties immediately, in prosecuting and transacting all our affairs, to do everything to the best of their abilities, and render a faithful and honest account of all their acts to the said Nation in General Council assembled."

Ross commented, "The Department will readily see what difficulty attends the transaction of business with a heterogeneous mass of men and boys without any system of organization."

The personnel alignment of the original committee, was a little odd: Navarre and Bourassa were not of Council Bluffs origin at all, although representing that faction, while Louis Vieux, definitely not of Osage River background, was on the committee of the Catholic Indians. As every one of them became allottees, it is doubtful that anyone represented the viewpoint of the Prairie Indians.

Anthony Navarre, whose name did not appear on the original treaty, quickly made up his mind after the Indian council of March 5, 1862 that he wanted no part of this particular combined committee. Upon his resignation, the meeting of the remaining five members at St. Mary's, March 26, accepted George L. Young in his place. In effect, this left the Prairie, non-sectionizing faction completely without representation. Navarre wrote immediately to the commissioner asking that the committee not be recognized as representative of the tribe. According to Ross, this was a final move on his part to prevent the ratification of the treaty. Although the original treaty signatories included many Prairie chiefs, the agent almost disregarded them when he made up his traveling party to Washington in the spring of 1862, to seek the senate's approval of the treaty. The group consisted of Ross, Miyenigo, Ma-zhee, Benjamin Bertrand, John Tipton, George Young, We-we-say, Medard Beaubien, Louis Ogee, and Joseph Bourassa. With the possible exception of Miyenigo, all the others became allottees. Navarre's tactics had failed miserably to protect the Prairie interests, but this setback did not discourage him.

The Commissioner's office continued to press for a unified Business Committee, even after the Potawatomi became in fact two separate bands, the sectionized and non-sectionized. Both groups still had several common financial and landed interests, and this situation persisted until the signing of the next major treaty on February 27, 1867. Dole wrote to a protesting group of Prairie Indians in May, 1862, begging them not to boycott the existing committee but rather to "reorganize it instead of rejecting it entirely." The effort over the next five years to maintain the centralized committee was successful but difficult. In December, 1862, Navarre succeeded in organizing a sort of "rump business committee," with Prairie personalities dominating it.

The record, however, of the dissident group's meeting showed that such Potawatomi as Abram Burnett and Peter Moose cooperated with it. They asserted that they met in general council to elect a new committee because they were "dissatisfied with the present authorities of our people." Ross' letters to the department apparently prevented any approval of the move, but Navarre's abortive scheme constituted a definite precedent for similar efforts within the Citizen Band after it set up headquarters in Oklahoma.

During 1863 and 1864 the Potawatomi were again preoccupied with their ancient yearning to do business with the government by dispatching delegates to Washington. After a complicated accumulation of correspondence, the Secretary of the Interior refused permission in March, 1863. The secretary acted upon the recommendation of agent Ross who declared that the so-called Indian request was actually in the handwriting of Anthony Navarre, and that the blind, aged Wob-sai had become no more than a "supple tool" of the latter. On the other hand, in November of the same year Ross recommended that the secretary grant another request for a delegation to proceed to Washington. The reason, he stated, was that "it is thought among other matters of business that a satisfactory treaty can be made with the tribe to remove them to the Indian Territory." Navarre, ever vigilant for the interests of the Prairie Indians, persuaded Wob-sai and his friends not to cooperate. Permission came, but Ross did not deem it "expedient" to make the trip "without these factions." Ross had used strong language already in the autumn of 1862 in recommending that the Prairie Indians be moved to the Indian Territory, and Central Superintendent H. B. Branch had given him firm support. Furthermore, in September, 1863, the agent wrote very confidently to Dole that the Prairie Indians would be willing to move. Ross asserted that although probably some of the allottees could hold on in Kansas, any other dissatisfied elements among the citizens should be encouraged to join them. The objective was to remove as many Indians from Kansas as possible because they were blocking progress. Ross even ventured to include a suggested outline of the proposed treaty.

Anthony Navarre and his constituents, however, would not cooperate in 1864, even to the extent of going to Washington for a conference. The Prairie Band, forced to sign the treaty of 1861, insisted that it would never sign another removal agreement, and it never has. A large proportion of them migrated from Kansas in the course of the 1860's, but it was informally, and certainly not by treaty arrangement. Ross and Dole overplayed their hands in this particular project. It remained for the demoralized, unsuccessful allottees (Citizen Band) to accept a home in the Indian Territory.

“Unable to agree in council, individuals and factions undertook on their own to negotiate. Any authorized committee, representing all warring factions, would necessarily have its difficulties.”

The Business Committee, in spite of obstacles, continued to exist and to grow in its prerogatives. When Luther R. Palmer replaced William W. Ross as Potawatomi agent, Anthony Navarre promptly rejoined the committee. The roster of February, 1865, was: Joseph N. Bourassa, chairman, B. H. Bertrand, Madore Beaubien, John D. Lasley, Anthony F. Navarre, and Louis Vieux. John Tipton had died, and George L. Young retired.

In April, 1865, Special Commissioner Edward Wolcott, in charge of land allotments, reported to Dole that he and Palmer had found a new and satisfactory use for the Business Committee. Wolcott had been urgently requested by Dole in a letter of March 25 to provide the department immediately with lists of the allotted Potawatomi who were "fitted by their intelligence, sobriety, and good conduct to be entrusted with the management of their own affairs." It was contemplated that the Indians listed would be provided with certificates of citizenship and patents in fee to their lands. As Wolcott explained it:

"To enable us better to discharge this duty we called a meeting of the business committee of the tribe, and having stated to them the views and wishes of the department, requested them to designate those whom they were willing to recommend as proper persons to become the recipients of the patents. It gives us pleasure to be able to say that in the performance of this duty the committee have, in our opinion, acted conscientiously, and also that in nearly every instance their opinion coincided with our own. . . ."

Thus grew the unwritten constitution of the respective bands of the Potawatomi. After the bands separated from each other, their Business Committees continued to act in capacities similar to those they performed for Wolcott and Palmer. This became particularly true in the case of the Citizen Band in the Indian Territory.

Sometimes opposition and protests arose as the Business Committee increased its authority and importance. For example, in 1867, neither We-we-say, titular head of the allotted Indians, nor Wob-sai, having the same position with the Prairie Band, were happy with its performance. They signed a petition, along with 16 others, declaring that the committee was exercising too much power and was exhibiting partiality in its dealings. We-we-say suggested that his band, "the Mission Band," simply wanted one agent to represent them, one N. M. Juneau. Wob-sai desired A. F. Navarre and nobody else. Needless to say, the commissioner upheld the committee.

After the treaty of 1867 the two bands organized their separate Business Committees. In fact, Articles III and VI of the treaty recognized the Business Committee of the Citizen Band and detailed its function in the citizenship and land patent process. In December, 1869, Potawatomi agent Joel H. Morris reported that each band had held a council. The Prairie Indians had elected as their Business Committee: A. F. Navarre and Eli G. Nadeau; the "sectionizers" had settled upon George L. Young and Louis Vieux - who would resign shortly in favor of Joseph N. Bourassa. Navarre's double status seemed to be a bit contradictory. The department thought so, too, but in 1872 ex-agent Morris aided in assuring the commissioner that Navarre, albeit a "citizen of the United States," was a member of the Business Committee of the Prairie Band. At that particular time Navarre and Nadeau were in Washington. A whole deputation of the Prairie Indians, with Navarre as leader, was also there in 1874. The indomitable mixed-blood had to explain again that while he was a citizen of the United States he was also the salaried Business Committee of the Prairie Band:

"In regard to myself I will only say, that I am the Business Committee, under a salary of two hundred dollars per annum, and when I am compelled to visit Washington, D.C., I do so at the expense of the Indians."

Anthony Navarre's early career has been emphasized with a purpose. The success of the Citizen Band in the Indian Territory in securing proper recognition from the Indian Department and from the United States Government was a consequence of his later, able representations. With the story of the preliminary factional struggle completed, the treaty of 1861 can be more clearly understood.

You must request a ballot by June 5 to participate by mail in the 1988 tribal election

'Trail of Death' anniversary celebrated

(From the Fulton County Historical Society)

This year is the 150th anniversary of the Trail of Death removal of the Potawatomi Indians from northern Indiana in 1838.

The Fulton County Historical Society does not think the date should go by without notice.

A committee has been formed to plan an appropriate observance of the 150th anniversary. The removal of the Cherokees from North Carolina to Kansas also took place in 1838, and is known as the Trail of Tears. There were many removals, but these two are the most infamous. The Trail of Death march went through Rochester Sept. 5, 1838. There were so many Indians walking single file that they stretched from one end of town to the other. The first death occurred at Mud Creek six miles south of Rochester where the group camped for the night. In 1976 Boy Scout Troop 285 erected a historical marker there, which was dedicated by then-Indiana-Governor Otis Bowen. In his speech he called it a "Trail of Courage," so FCHS changed the name of its living-history festival, which was held for the first time in 1976, to Trail of Courage Rendezvous. The name change was made to honor the Indians and to portray the better times before the removal when northern Indiana was still Potawatomi territory.

Plans to observe the 150th anniversary Trail of Death include special activities at the 13th annual Trail of Courage. This year they are dropping the word "rendezvous" in order to emphasize Indian history and to include many periods of history such as French & Indian War, Revolutionary War, fur trade and voyageurs, all pre-1840. The year 1840 marked the end of Indiana's pioneer period.

The Trail of Courage will take place Sept. 17-18 at the FCHS grounds on the north side of the Tippecanoe River three miles north of Rochester on New U.S. 31. A new Fulton County Museum has been erected at the north end of the grounds and will open in the spring of 1988. Admission at the Trail of Courage is \$3 for adults, \$1 for children, and free for children under six years of age.

Traditional childraising

Teaching children about hunting and the value of life

By Iron ThunderHorse (William Coppola)

(Reprinted from *The Journal*, published by Indian Country Communications at Lac Courte Oreilles, Wisconsin.)

Many of us have grown up with one foot in separate worlds. People often write to me who feel they have lost their sense of identity with tradition, culture and religion. I walked this path of uncertainty myself not too long ago. Many of us in the Iron-Houses have had to re-learn just who and what we are. Being forced into a lifestyle that is alien to our psyches has had devastating affects on us all. Witness the alcohol, drug and poverty related crimes along with the high suicide rates and disgraceful health care facilities in Indian Country and it easy to understand why many of our people are imprisoned.

But prisons are not necessarily made of concrete and steel. There is a paradox here. In contemporary society we are all doing time, imprisoned to the effects of techno-ethnocide a disease caused by the illusions of a monetary system that places the value of wealth over life. This concept is totally unacceptable to our traditional beliefs. It is deeply rooted in our genetic evolution. The real prisons are greed, lust, tyranny, poverty, ignorance, waste, exploitation, prejudice, avarice, and hate. These things are by-products of wealth and the struggle to maintain the illusion of wealth.

In prison I found out who I really am, and that has not been easy. If it weren't for the many spiritual and cultural groups of Native American focus I would still be wandering about lost . . .

One of my teachers over the past decade in the Iron Houses is an Abenaki storyteller and journalist: Joe Bruchac. He has helped me find my way many times with traditional teachings that have stood out in my mind as landmarks back to the sacred red road.

A sister has written to *The Journal* about her five-year-old child pretending to hunt deer and squirrel with dangerous toys. She has asked for a discussion on this problem. Her concerns reflect a typical dilemma that faces parents in Indian country. How should I handle this? The solution might rest in a story given to me by my friend and storyteller Joe Bruchac. It goes like this . . .

About thirty years ago an Apache man named Swift Eagle was visiting friends at the Onondaga Indian reservation in New York. While he was out walking one day he heard the sound of young boys playing in the bushes: "There's another one. Shoot it!" said one boy.

Swift Eagle parted the hushes to see what was happening, and saw that the boys had been shooting small birds with a BB gun. The boys had already killed a chickadee, a robin, and several blackbirds. The boys were looking up at Swift Eagle unsure of what he might do, or say.

There are several possibilities that a non-Indian observer might do in

Chippeway Village has been a part of the annual Trail of Courage since 1978. It is a re-creation of the first white village in Fulton County, a village founded by William Polke, the first white settler in 1830. At Chippeway Village, many historic crafts are demonstrated such as barrel making, pottery, spinning and weaving, pewter casting, blacksmithing, candle-dipping, etc. Also many old-time foods are cooked over wood fires and sold: buffalo burgers, apple-butter, Indian fry bread, stew, popcorn popped in a big iron kettle, ham and beans, chicken and noodles.

Another part of the Trail of Courage is the tepee village, set up by re-enactors from all over the Midwest. Historic activities include muzzle-loading shooting contests, tomahawk throwing contests, cannon drills and demonstrations, blanket trading, canoe landing and fur trading skits. There are special activities for the children such as fire starting contests (using flint and steel), hoop rolling, stilt walking, canoe rides and much more.

After the festival is over, a special trip to Kansas is planned for this year to retrace the original route of the 1838 Trail of Death. All interested persons are invited to go along. It will take place Sept. 19-22, beginning at Twin Lakes south of Plymouth by Menominee's statue, through Rochester, Fulton, Logansport, following the Wabash River west and on across Illinois and Missouri to Paola, Kansas.

The Fulton County Historical Society is contacting all the historical societies in every county the Trail of Death passed through and inviting them to make plans to join or plan ceremonies as the group passes through. Special ceremonies will be planned, such as the dedicating of historical markers or planting of trees.

The distance is a little over 600 miles. The plan is to travel between 150 and 200 miles a day, beginning the day after the Trail of Courage living-history festival, Monday, Sept. 19. That means camping overnight Sept. 19 near Danville, Ill.; Sept. 20 between Jacksonville and Quincy, Ill.; Sept. 21 near Keytesville, Mo.; and arrive at the end of the Trail near Paola, Kansas, Sept. 22.

Persons who are interested in participating in the trip to Kansas are urged to write the Fulton County Historical Society, Rochester, IN 46975 or call the museum, which is open Monday-Friday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at 219-223-4436.

such circumstances: threaten to tell the boys' parents on them for doing something they had been told not to do; or to spank them; or give them a lecture on the evils of killing the birds. But Swift Eagle did something entirely different.

"Ah," he said, "I see you have been hunting. Pick up your game and come with me."

Swift Eagle took the boys to a spot in the forest where they could make a fire and cook the birds. He first made sure the boys said their thanks to the spirits of the birds before eating them. As they ate he told his stories.

It is important, he said, to be thankful to the birds for the gifts they give us. Their songs, their feathers, and their bodies as food are all gifts from the Great Spirit. The last thing he told them was something the boys would never forget, because it was one of these boys who had grown up who had passed on this story.

"You know, our Creator gave the gift of life to everything that is alive. Life is a very sacred thing. But our Creator knows that we have to eat to stay alive. That is why it is permitted to hunt to feed ourselves and our people," said Swift Eagle. "But this privilege is also sacred and you must remember to hunt only what you need for food and not for sport. So, I understand that you boys must have been incredibly hungry to have killed those little birds."

The young boys today see these toys on television and in comic books and magazines and they imitate what they see. If they are not taught the traditional ways to counter-balance these destructive patterns then they will have only one choice to make. Children are not inherently evil or destructive. Given a choice they will make the right decision if their young impressionable minds are given adequate lessons on which to base sound judgments.

I have seen this type of teaching work miracles. It brings me back to the days when I was a boy. I remember sitting around the campfires at a summer camp operated by Iroquois and listening to the many stories unfolding before my eyes. I had almost lost those memories. It is up to us now to bring back the storytelling sessions. These were not myths, or legends. They were valuable lessons on the sacred red road.

For people who are interested, there is a wonderful book available, "Keepers of the Earth, Native American Stories and Environmental Activities for Children" by Joe Bruchac and Michael J. Caduot, foreword by N. Scott Momaday, illustrated by John Kahionhes Fadden and Carol Wood; available from: Fulcrum, Inc., 350 Indiana St. #510, Golden, CO 80401. To order direct call 1-800-992-2908. The stories are from all over Turtle Island. These are invaluable teachings for the young ones. Kitche meegwetch!



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